UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

ALL-INDIA NUMBER

Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmi Pathi, B. A., President of the Tamil Nadu (Madras) Provincial Congress Committee, sentenced to one year Simple Imprisonment on the 14th of May for disobeying the Salt Act at Vedaranyam (Tanjore Dt). The first woman in India to suffer punishment in the present Passive Resistance Campaign.

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CV MONDAY, AUGUST 18, 1930 NUMBER 22

MY PRAYER FOR INDIA

What is my longing, my dream, my prayer, for my country, my beloved India?
I dream of her. I fervently pray for her, that she may no longer be in bondage to strangers;
But that she may be free!
Free to follow her own high ideals:
Free to accomplish her own important mission in the world:
Free to fill her own God-given place among the great nations!

—*Rabindranath Tagore.*

AN APPEAL TO AMERICANS*

Comrades over the seas, this day is sacred to you, as more than one hundred and fifty years ago it was on this day that after a glorious struggle you achieved the freedom of your land. The 4th of July is an equally cherished memory to the soldiers of freedom all over the world. And in the name of that freedom which is the inviolable right of every nation, we greet you today as friends and brothers.

If the liberty that you have achieved is a reality, we ask you to consider whether you have not a duty to the world as to yourselves. We in India today stand in the same position as you did before the glorious 4th of July. The rule of Britain has been to us one long agonized sequence of the impoverishment of our country and the emasculation of our manhood. It has been a denial of God and a negation of humanity, and today when the Indian nation has with one voice decided to break the shackles of ages and vindicate the glory of man, where are you, American brothers, your ideals of Liberty so forgotten, your voice of justice so stifled, that you have not one word to say for the cause of Indian freedom?

Do you realize that the British Government is carefully suppressing the truth from being known to you? Can you sit still while infants are being massacred, men and women murdered, and the flower of the land maimed and battered, because Britain must squeeze out her petty pence from this land? Will you be untrue to the trust that the greatest of your heroes has bequeathed to you? Fulfill the high destinies for which Heaven appears to have intended you. Come, brother, clasp the hand that seeks yours in the name of liberty, and declare with us that Britain is an outlaw among nations and that her rule in India is an outrage to humanity and civilization.

The Bombay Congress Bulletin (a seditious publication printed secretly in defiance of British authorities).

*Issued on July 4th last.

The Course of Events

Events in India have been long preparing, and have not come without warning. If a catastrophe has fallen upon the Empire, there is nobody to blame but the British, who have themselves forged the very weapons which the people of India are now using so effectively against them. Had the British so desired, they might at this moment be sitting in friendly conference with Gandhi and his associates instead of battling, like King Canute against the sea, against the vast flood of rebellion now breaking upon them.

It was at the All-India Congress in December, 1928, that the representatives of India, headed by the great Mahatma himself, served notice on Britain that unless *Swaraj* were granted before January 1, 1930, a nation-wide *Satyagraha* (non-violent resistance) campaign would immediately be launched, and directed straight to the end of national independence. Outraged by repeated neglect and insult since 1924, the Indians were in no mood to remain inactive longer. Gandhi, who had taken no part in political agitation since his release from prison, would gladly have postponed revolt in continued hope of cooperative action by the English people, and thus sought to date the ultimatum at least two years instead of one year in the future. But a fierce and determined spirit was abroad in the land. A new generation of Indians, willing as always to suffer, were also now eager to strike. Gandhi could not oppose, much less ignore or defy, these ardent patriots. They were the children of his own soul, conceived and born in the great days of 1919-1922. He must lead them, that, above all things, they be held faithful to his ideals of non-violence and victory through sacrifice. So Gandhi again returned to active service, avoided precipitate and violent action by compromising on a postponement of one year instead of two, and pledged himself to lead his people in uprising against the *Raj* if emancipation were not granted in the time allowed.

Even so, Gandhi and his associates would gladly have entered into conference with Britain, as they would enter into conference *now*, to the end of adjusting differences and avoiding conflict. Let there be no doubt upon this point! Why was a delay of a year conceded by the All-India Congress, if not in hope, even in expectation, that the Government would meet with Indians and agree upon terms of *Swaraj* which would protect the Empire and at the same time confer upon a tortured people the autonomous rights for which they had so long been striving? Dominion status was at this time obviously the way out. Britain could safely grant it; India would prudently accept it. Gandhi took pains in 1929, just as he took pains a few weeks ago, to name the conditions under which he was willing to meet British representatives in conference—in brief, the framing of a constitution giving India "the substance of independence," the repeal of the salt tax, the prohibition of the liquor traffic, and the granting of amnesty to political prisoners. These conditions placed no undue or improper obstacles in the way of discussion and agreement; they simply named terms which were alone consistent with the dignity of the Indians as a people and their purpose as a nation. Yet the British Government paid as little attention to Gandhi's offer of conference in 1929 as they have paid to his more recent offer this present year, and have deliberately poisoned the minds of men the world around into the belief that Gandhi and his associates will not meet like decent, civilized people and talk things over!

No, the British have chosen to sit tight and do nothing—to ignore the Indians and beat them down with force if they become obstreperous. The weeks and months of 1929 passed, and the Government at Westminster paid not the slightest attention to the Indian ultimatum. Such indifference and lofty scorn was of course to be expected of a Tory administration. But the Labor administration of Premier MacDonald, who had said on October 17, 1927, that India "should have self-government at once," followed precisely the same policy! Apart from a noncommittal statement of the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, in favor of dominion status, which was followed by not a word from Downing Street, the entire year of precious days and hours was allowed to slip away, and nothing done. Not since the days of George III has there been in English history so inexcusable and disastrous an exhibition of blind stupidity and surly temper.

With the stroke of midnight on December 31, 1929, things in India began to happen—and have been happening ever since:

The All-India Congress, in session at Lahore as the old year passed into the new, formally decreed the independence of India, and raised to the breezes of southern Asia the Indian national flag. Gandhi, the sainted leader of his people, pledged himself for the first time to *Swaraj* interpreted flatly in terms of national independence, and agreed to lead in person the non-violent revolt of India against the British *Raj*. This great and devoted man, who as late as 1918 was a loyal subject of the crown, had now become the out-and-out leader of a popular revolt for independence. What other commentary do we need, or will history ever ask, on imperial policy in India since the War?

On January 24th, Independence Day, the Indians raised their flag in all quarters of the land, and marched in processions and gathered in vast assemblies in public pledge of allegiance to the national cause. It was at this time that the famous Gandhi cap, made of native *Khaddar* cloth, began everywhere to appear as a kind of sign or symbol of personal devotion to the Mahatma.

On March 2nd, Gandhi addressed his famous letter to the Viceroy, in which he stated that "before embarking on Civil Disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out." Specifying the awful evils from which his country was suffering, the Mahatma invited the Viceroy "to pave the way for immediate removal of these evils," and offered "to discuss matters" with him. He then added, "not as a threat, but as a simple and sacred duty peremptory in a civil resister," that "if you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the 11th day of this month I shall proceed . . . to disregard the provisions of the Salt Laws."

On the day appointed, March 11th, no reply having been received from the Viceroy, Gandhi started his famous march from Ahmedabad to the sea, accompanied by some seventy of his co-workers at the *Ashram*. In itself there was little that was impressive about this event. It seemed as insignificant and undramatic as another march of another man two thousand years ago from Galilee to Jerusalem. It was simply the spectacle of a little group of pilgrims trudging along the dusty roads of a remote region, in the killing heat of the tropic sun, to arrive sooner or later at a lonely spot upon the shore. Sickness and exhaustion decimated the ranks of the wayfarers as they moved—the leader, with his emaciated body and bandy legs, naked save for the familiar loin cloth, seemed so frail that he must collapse at every step. It was all so miserable and pitiful, and, in the eyes of the English, so ridiculous! But it caught the imagination of India, and taught the millions of that country the easy and noble way of revolution. And it caught as well the attention of the world, and held it fixed in excited admiration of the Indian cause. Again Gandhi had demonstrated not only his holiness as a saint and his courage as a hero, but also his shrewdness as a statesman and a leader of the multitudes.

On the early morning of April 6th, his journey done, Gandhi waded into the sea at Dandi and gathered up a bucket of water as the first step in the manufacture of salt in defiance of the British crown. Hundreds of men and women, in glad allegiance to their revered Mahatma, entered the ocean with him, and thus with him became open rebels against the *Raj*. Thus at a place so small and obscure that it does not appear upon the map, there began the greatest revolution of modern times.

One week and one day later, on April 14th, the Empire struck in defense of its rule by arresting Jawaharlal Nehru, the youthful and heroic President of the All-India National Congress. Britain thus entered upon the policy of trying to demoralize and defeat the native movement for independence by picking off the leaders one by one, thereby leaving the people unguided and therefore presumably helpless. One great leader after another was thus seized and cast into prison, only to be succeeded by another leader ready and even eager to take his turn of suffering. Motilal Nehru, father of Jawaharlal Nehru, Sjt. Abbas Tyebji, Mme. Naidu, and numerous others of the most distinguished among Indians, were in pursuance of this policy all arrested, tried, and are now behind the bars of English jails.

On May 4th, after long and apparently inexplicable delay, Mahatma Gandhi was arrested, on the eve of a proposed march on the salt works at Dharasana, duly announced, in accordance with his invariable custom, in a second letter to the Viceroy. In the dead of night, at 12:45 a. m., a company of thirty police, headed by the District Magistrate of Surat, entered the camp where Gandhi and his disciples were sleeping, and carried the leader away. No more exact reproduction of the ancient scene in the Garden of Gethsemane can be imagined! Placed in the Yeravda prison, Gandhi was held under an ancient Penal Code without trial and in solitary confinement. Eight years ago, on the occasion of his earlier arrest, Gandhi was publicly tried and thus allowed to be heard. The fact that the Government did not dare to give him a trial in the present crisis is an exact measure of the progress of the nationalist movement in India in less than a decade.

Gandhi's arrest was followed by the far-spread, torturing, cruel struggle between the Indian people and their imperial rulers which has continued to this hour. Contrary to every expectation, the Mahatma's followers have remained steadfast to their leader's exalted rule of non-violence. What they were unable to do in 1921 in Gandhi's own presence, they are now doing triumphantly even in Gandhi's absence—refusing deliberately to obey British law, recognize British rule, cooperate with British life, and enduring without defensive resistance or attack the blows of their frantic enemies. The Indian weapons are mass disobedience of law, mass refusal to pay land taxes, mass boycott of British goods, mass demonstration in parades and public meetings, and mass endurance of arrest, assault, beatings, injury and death. The English weapons are rifles, swords, machine-guns, air-planes, and the hated *Hathi* rods of the police. The world in all its history has never seen a spectacle like this before. It is a new type of revolution against which the familiar weapons of force and violence break themselves to pieces in vain.

Into this vast sea of trouble, like a pebble cast into water, came in the latter part of June the two volumes of the long-awaited Simon Report. The character of this document is best indicated by three facts: (a) out of a total of 725 pages, Gandhi and his 1920-21 movement are given 4 pages, and the history of Indian politics since 1920 occupies 12 pages; (b) dominion status, as a possible remedy of the situation, is not mentioned; (c) and, says the Commission, "in writing this Report, we have made no allusion to the events of the last few months in India." Of course, this Report came still-born from the press. It disappeared at once beneath the engulfing flood of Indian ridicule and contempt, and will not be heard of again.

Britain now looks eagerly, hopefully, desperately to a proposed round-table discussion in October. "The next stage in the pursuit of British policy," said Mr. Benn, Secretary of State for India, in an interview on June 20th last, "will be the holding of a conference to which all sections of opinion in British India and the Indian states are to be invited." The Viceroy, in his recent speech at Simla, stated, contrary to the Simon Report, that dominion status may be a subject for discussion at this conference. But the conference, like the Report, is now too late! It might have been held last year, even earlier this year, on Gandhi's stated conditions. But, in the present plight, what Indians, save the base servitors of the British *Raj*, will deign to journey to London, to talk with those who have for years postponed, and still postpone, the grant of liberty, and beat into insensibility those who dare to raise the issue in their own land?

Meanwhile, Britain keeps law and order by bloody violence upon non-resisting men, women, and even children.

Where in India, or in the world at large, or even in England, breathes there a man who believes that India will not eventually be free? Since this end must come, as by some decree of fate, why should it not come soon rather than late, easily rather than hardly, by consent and thus with enduring friendship between two great peoples, rather than by conflict and thus with enduring hate? Is it not the Buddha who said, "Hate is not overcome by hate; rather is hate overcome only by love!"

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Indian Probabilities

On April 17th the Viceroy of India wrote to Prime Minister MacDonald that he, the Viceroy, intended to choose the Indian representatives to the proposed Round Table Conference by "invitation" from "among the sections of those who desire and have a title to be heard." In May, Mahatma Gandhi was arrested, and now only two of the important leaders of the Congress party are still out of jail. Also the Congress working committee has been declared an unlawful association by the governments of several of the Indian provinces.

During the past three months, the Congress party of which Gandhi is the unofficial head has proved that it is the strongest of all the political groups in India. Commenting on this, a journal called the *Servant of India,* representing the Indian Liberal party, said, late in April,

> Whatever be the depth and extent of its appeal and ultimate significance, Mahatma Gandhi's civil disobedience holds the stage almost to the exclusion of everything else and holds the bulk of political India under a spell of fascination, compounded of wonder, awe and fear.

And now on July 10th the Viceroy is reported to have told the Indian Legislative Assembly that "So long as the civil disobedience movement persists we must fight it with all our strength." Note the tribute to the strength of the movement—all the strength must be called upon!

So, as the situation now stands, Britain is either hoping that the Gandhi-Congress party will be defeated before October, or else she is proposing to have a Round Table Conference with the most important of all the Indian groups left out. It is the most important group because it excels all the other Indian groups in respect to courage, energy, activity, devotion, enthusiasm, organization, greatness of purpose, strategy, method, determination, and effective numbers. Moreover, it has plenty of financial support from the Indian business community. It is the most important of the groups for still another reason.

The whole scheme of the Simon Commission Report goes on the assumption that there will be an effective majority of Indians who are ready to cooperate with Great Britain. But in fact there is this very active and influential party of Indians determined to wreck the Simon proposals. The result is that even if these proposals were put into effect, the Viceroy and provincial governors would have constantly to exercise their "overriding powers" provided in the plan, and govern autocratically and repressively. That would be true whether the Congress party should decide to carry on its present civil disobedience program or instead should call that off and enter the legislatures as elected members. There can be no doubt that Indian nationalism has now reached an intensity, depth and power never before shown in all its history. And unless all the signs are wrong, that condition will not only remain, but will increase between now and October. Thus the very assumption and plan of the Simon Report has helped to make the Gandhi-Congress party the most important of them all.

If these things be true, the Round Table Conference, if it is held at all, will be a failure. The farce may be played, but it will have to be discarded immediately.

In his speech to the Legislative Assembly on July 10th the Viceroy is also reported to have said that the proposed Round Table Conference

> . . . will be free to approach its task greatly assisted indeed, but with its liberty unimpaired by the report of the Statutory Commission or by any other documents which will be before it. . . . The Conference will thus enjoy the unfettered right of examining the whole problem in all its bearings.

These words of the Viceroy may be formally true, but they do not state the psychological truth of the situation. As a matter of fact, the Report of the Simon Commission has made such a profound impression on the minds of all parties in Great Britain that there is no one there who is prepared to offer any but minor amendments. And on the Indian side, the groups outside of the Gandhi-Congress camp are unable to compose their differences, and are unable to offer an agreed-upon counter plan, nor can they make sufficiently powerful opposition to Great Britain to compel any substantial change in the Simon scheme. So the Simon proposals are what Great Britain actually expects to put into effect, provided the Gandhi-Congress group can be defeated.

But it seems quite clear that that possibility is daily growing smaller. It is true that a few of the Moderates and Liberals have cautiously approved the Viceroy's speech, but they have at the same time requested the Viceroy to cease the campaign of repression. Perhaps they are trying to keep on the fence and gain favor from both sides. If not, I believe that a little more consideration will enable these men to realize that the only way they can gain anything approaching equality of bargaining power against Great Britain is to join with the Congress-Gandhi group. All during the spring that group has been telling the Indian public that they will not set up any scheme of government which is not acceptable to all Indian communities. That is a more generous offer than Britain can make.

The struggle will proceed and the disciplined, nonviolent suffering of the Congress volunteers will melt and win more and more of their Indian opponents, and indeed more and more of the British also. The purpose, methods and personality of Gandhi and the devotion and sacrifice of his followers, are steadily reducing the opposition and welding all the Indian groups together. It cannot be done instantly, but immense progress has been made since March 1st, and it is proceeding with increasing speed.

Let us see some of the working of this process. At the beginning there was Mahatma Gandhi, a frail little man, 60 years old, weighing only about 100 pounds, living entirely on a little fruit and goat's milk, dressed in nothing but a loin cloth and a scarf of homespun cotton cloth, walking nearly two hundred miles under the blazing sun to reach the sea and make salt there contrary to law. Thereby he was saying in effect to all the millions of India,

> See, we can all show that we have no longer any respect for the laws of the government and are determined to disobey them. It does not require wealth or organization. Everybody can do it, young and old, wise and simple, rich and poor, men and women, city folk and peasants. All you have to do is to get some sea water and boil it down to salt. You need not wait for a big crowd to do it with you. Courage and determination are all that you need.

His march lasted nearly a month, and all that time

this lesson was being absorbed and pondered over by people all over India. How well they learned the lesson was shown in the following two months when hundreds of thousands of people followed his example and instructions. That broke the spell of fear of the Government and put heart into the people. Thus the people had two months of discipline, drill and practice in a simple and easy form of civil disobedience or non-violent resistance. The events of that period also showed the peasants that the intelligentsia and city folk were going to suffer and work with them. That was a unifying force. Then came the rainy season and ended that stage. After that came more difficult forms of civil disobedience, such as picketing, despite Government ordinances to the contrary, liquor shops and shops selling foreign cloth, refusal to pay taxes, defiance of forest grazing laws, etc.

When I said that making salt was simple and easy I did not mean that such defiance of law did not involve pain and suffering. That came as a result, of course. But that very suffering endured without counter-violence against the police proves that these volunteers have such tremendous principle and will power that the hearts and minds of the beholders are deeply troubled, then melted, and eventually they are constrained to follow the example so courageously set before them.

Take another instance. At the end of May a policeman's dog in Bombay barked at a Mohammedan. The Mohammedan kicked it and the policeman struck the Mohammedan. This started a riot in which a number of Mohammedans were shot and wounded by the police. Congress volunteers helped to carry away and nurse the wounded Mohammedans. This kindness so pleased the Mohammedans, who previously had been hostile to the Congress group, that on the 3rd of June the Moslems of Bombay had a parade a mile long and then a huge mass meeting at which they voted to support Gandhi and urged all Mohammedans to do likewise.

Another instance occurred after the affair in Peshawar in which a number of Moslems were killed and wounded by the soldiers. Soon after that, Pandit Malaviya started for Peshawar with a relief fund of ten thousand rupees to help the Moslem sufferers. The Government stopped him at the border of the Northwest Frontier Province in which Peshawar is situated, and refused to let him go there. Now Pandit Malaviya is the head of a group in the Congress called the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Moslems have been especially suspicious of the political purposes of this group. But this gesture of kindness on the part of the man whom they had regarded as their chief opponent mollified a great many Moslems and tended to bring them into the Gandhi camp.

So the movement gathers strength. Martial law cannot check it. Gandhi has clearly stated the conditions upon which he will go into conference with the Government. They involve that which the Government is not yet willing to grant. But the longer the Government delays and refuses, the greater does the number, organization, and power of the Indian opposition become. The British Empire is a habit as well as an institution. It is not easy to give up an old habit. But it seems probable that it will undergo great changes soon.

RICHARD B. GREGG.

What Is India?

Is it a nation of barbarians, or semi-barbarians, as many seem to think? Is it a nation of little importance? Has it ever been anything or done anything of interest to mankind?

India is the oldest nation in the world, going back for its origin more than three thousand years, and having a continuous history down to the present time.

With the exception of China, India is the largest nation in the world. In other words, it has a population equal to that of all Europe outside of Russia, and considerably in excess of that of North and South America combined.

India is a highly civilized nation—a nation which developed a rich culture much earlier than any nation of Europe, and has never lost it.

India was the first and only nation that proved too powerful for Alexander the Great. It was India that stopped his advance and compelled him to turn back in his career of world conquest.

India was the richest nation in the world until conquered and robbed of her wealth by Great Britain.

India is a nation a large part of whose people are Aryans in blood, that is, belong to the same great race as the Greeks, Romans, Germans, English and ourselves.

India gave to the world two out of six of its greatest historic religions.

Of the six greatest epic poems of the world India produced two.

India gave to mankind its Shakespeare of the Orient—Kalidasa, author of The Lost Ring and other Great Dramas.

India contributed enormously to the origin and advancement of civilization by giving to the world its immensely important decimal system, or so-called "Arabic Notation," which is the foundation of modern mathematics and much modern science.

India early created the beginnings of nearly all of the sciences, some of which she carried forward to remarkable degrees of development, thus leading the world. Today, notwithstanding her subject condition, she possesses scientists of eminence.

India has created and today possesses architecture equal to the finest produced by Greece—as witness the Pearl Mosque, the Kutab Minar and the Royal Palace of Delhi, and the Taj Mahal of Agra.

If we may credit the judgment of Mr. H. G. Wells, India has given the world two of its six greatest men of all time—Buddha and the Emperor Asoka the Great. If we may trust the judgment widely held in America and Europe, the two most eminent men in the world today, the two men most widely known and honored among all civilized nations at the present time, are sons of India, namely, Rabindranath Tagore and "Mahatma" Gandhi.

India has produced great literature, great arts, great philosophical systems, great religions, and great men in every department of life—rulers, statesmen,

financiers, scholars, poets, generals, colonizers, shipbuilders, skilled artisans, and craftsmen of every kind, agriculturists, industrial organizers and leaders in far-reaching trade and commerce by land and sea.

For 2,500 years India was pre-eminently the intellectual and spiritual teacher of Asia, which means of half the human race.

For 2,500 years before the British came on the scene and robbed her of her freedom, India was self-ruling, and one of the most renowned nations of the world.

Should such a nation be held in bondage? Has not such a nation a right to liberty, to self-government, and to a place once more, such as she occupied so long, among the great nations of mankind?

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

A Cry from India

If we wish to progress it is essential that we should stop and ruminate over the events that have occurred in rapid succession and draw our conclusions. What have we to learn from the happenings of the last few weeks?

We have scratched the sheepskins of our rulers and have discovered to our horror live wolves in all their native ferocity. We have had enacted in our land atrocities of medieval times by a Government responsible to a nation which is supposed to be an enlightened leader amongst Western peoples. In trying to gauge the black deeds we have to take into consideration the level of both the parties to the struggle. If both are armed they are on a par. If there is grave provocation then the sins are not so blameworthy. A thing may be done in the heat of the moment which would be repented at leisure. This is the criterion that allows of murders being pardoned in France. We scan the pages of history almost in vain to find parallels to what has been happening in our land. In the middle ages the Moslems carried with them the alternative of the Koran, or the sword. However much we may condemn their method their ideal was noble—to bring into the folds of true faith erring nations. Paul believed he was doing God service when he was a consenting party to stone to death Stephen. The inquisitions of the Catholic Church were much on the same level. There was always the mistaken ideal which will procure for them a pardon in God's judgment who looketh to the heart rather than to the action itself. The World War was between nations armed to the teeth and therefore on a par, and the atrocities were committed by both sides in the heat of the moment. If we turn to the lynchings in America the victim lacks the purity of the Christian martyrs and the oppressors lack the nobility of the ideals of the religious persecuters. If we turn to the atrocious deeds of King Leopold in the Belgian Congo there we see the same greed of gold in the oppressors as in the Britishers but the ideals of suffering for a noble cause were absent in the victims. What we have witnessed here in India today is of a more degrading type than any of these. The range of difference in the parties is of the widest. On the one hand we have the high idealism of the Christian martyrs and on the other a selfish greed of gain. In this, we find the closest parallel in the happenings in Palestine two thousand years ago. Jesus on the one side with the ideal of self-suffering and the Pharisees on the other seeking to hound him out to serve their own end. The Britishers offer lip worship to Christ and say "Lord, Lord!" but their deeds, louder than words, cry out, "Crucify Him, crucify Him!"

It is a most sad reflection that the missionaries in India have found it fit to sit still with folded hands during all this time. By their silence they are nailing the Master they profess to follow to the cross. They need not have taken an active part even if they had mortgaged their conscience to the Government but have they lifted their little finger to alleviate the sufferings of these innocent men? Have they come down from their hill-stations to verify the allegations and raise their voice of protest against unrighteousness? No, these humanitarian missions were left to Hindus, businessmen and lawyers, who were neutrals. All honor to them. The one relieving ray comes from an Englishwoman who has washed her hands of the blood by resigning the seat in the Bombay Legislative Council to which she was nominated by the Government and by declining the Kaiser-i-Hind medal awarded to her only a few days ago. Miss Dickinson is an ardent social worker of unimpeachable sincerity. We offer to this sister our congratulations on the moral stamina she has shown singlehanded. By this one single act, Miss Dickinson has witnessed for her Master more effectively than she would have done by preaching a sermon every day for the rest of her life. We must not be misunderstood to belittle the great benefit the missionary bodies had conferred on this land. We shall be ever grateful for the spreading of education and the interest they have generated in us for social work. A recognition of these services does not preclude us from criticising them but on the other hand we feel we are in duty bound to point out humbly the failings of our friends if it be merely as a form of gratitude for what we have received at their hands. We hope they will return the compliment by frankly telling us of any flaws they may find in us.

Viewing the case at close quarters, with all facts before us, as we have done above, the statement in the press attributed to Rabindranath Tagore now in England, makes curious reading. He is reported to have said, "Our suffering would have been terribly greater under any imperialistic rulers other than the British." It would be hard to imagine what could have been worse. The Huns would have been angels and the Germans—if all that was said of them were true—archangels in comparison with our bureaucrats. The only explanation we can offer is the ruthlessness of the propaganda carried on in Great Britain with the help of press and cable censorship. If Dr. Tagore were present here it would have furnished him subject for an epic to rival that of Dante.

The same publicity program is also perhaps responsible for the mischievous and libelous implications made by the *Manchester Guardian* in the sentence, "On our side we have to recognize the fact that when the

Indian police have to be used to repress a mass agitation it is impossible but that offences shall come, and very ugly and brutal offences at that." Why slander the poor police sepoy who would gladly have remained non-violent but for the constant urging of the European sergeants. Does not the *Manchester Guardian* know that it was a European sergeant who thrust sticks into the anus of the Satyagrahis? that it was a European police official of standing that kicked a woman on her breast and trod on her chest? that it is the flower of British universities that was directing the gruesome affairs at the various places? that it was the European officer's orders that the platoons in Peshawar refused to obey at the risk of being shot, and that it was the poor sepoys who risked their lives rather than open fire "on our unarmed brethren and innocent women and helpless children?" Why add insult to injury? Have we not suffered enough? But the end is not yet. They have yet to pierce the side of Christ. We have to gird up our loins and steel our hearts for further suffering.

The lesson we can draw from all this is that the Britishers have demonstrated beyond doubt that they were unworthy of the unsuspecting confidence we reposed in them as rulers and they have proved to the satisfaction of credulous neutrals their inability to govern and their bankruptcy of statesmanship. The irony of it is that some of our countrymen still hope to learn the art of governing from these bureaucrats. Let us pray that God will save them from such knowledge. They talk of "Dominion Status with safeguards." Yes, "safeguards" indeed from British interference which has always proved fatal to us. It is our duty, after the exhibitions of incompetence we have had, to see that the reins of Government are removed from such hands at the earliest possible moment.

J. C. KUMARAPPA.

Ahmedabad, India.

MacDonald's England Fights Gandhi's India*

British and American newspapers fairly shriek with horror whenever another nation involved in suppressing rebellious subjects commits acts of severe repression. The Turks, the Japanese and the Russians have often served as the target of this racial and national sanctimoniousness of the English-speaking peoples. But not a word of censure or reprobation, not an angry thought, not a prick of Christian conscience takes shape when the British perpetrate long-drawn, large scale and methodical savageries on the millions of Indian malcontents whom fate has placed under their control.

The reign of terror that was inaugurated when Gandhi fired the first shot of his non-violent battle for freedom has now lasted for more than three months. The news-agencies of the world—or of as much of the world as Britain cares to keep posted about her "moral burdens"—have systematically spread the fictions they were desired or ordered to broadcast in their respective fields of operation. British Reuter's, the sole feeder of the American Associated Press, British United Press, the news-gatherer for the American outfit of the same name, and the large number of special correspondents (Englishmen who furnish "copy" for the biggest English newspapers and American dailies) have daily told the stories of Indian events from the British official viewpoint, have set up the Government and the Police as "moral crusaders" whose travails in dealing with the "mobs" of "lawless" followers of Gandhi deserve implicit, if not outspoken, approval of the citizens of this republic.

Occasional foreign correspondents, like the Americans, Webb Miller and Negley Farson, and London *Daily Herald's* Paris Correspondent, George Slocombe, who dared to cable, however sparingly, accounts of actual facts, were subjected to crippling measures, their cables suppressed, mutilated or inordinately delayed. They have all found it necessary at last to forsake the field, leaving the loyal reporters in command.

Internally, besides the imprisonment between March 1 and July 1, of over 4,000 undefended civil offenders, the Government has abrogated the right of free press. In three weeks' operation of the Viceregal Orders placing the Indian Press under Government control, 70 newspapers and 90 printing establishments, which produced them, had been suppressed, according to official admission. Among the suppressed publications was Mahatma Gandhi's religiously non-violent personal organ, *Young India.*

The right of peaceful assemblage has been altogether abrogated in most parts of British India, and Martial Law, or military supervision of civil government, exists in three of the largest provinces of North, East and West. The use of posts and telegraphs, ordinarily official monopoly, has been denied to the leaders and men of the nationalist civil revolt. Railroads, property of the government, have been "regulated" to refuse transportation to nationalist volunteers and heads. Men and women of the highest rank and standing in the country, have been forbidden the use of highroads, barred from entering certain areas on missions of mercy, arrested for disobedience of illegal commands of police underlings and petty magistracy, sentenced to prison without due process of law, to terms which have depended on the degree of the ill-will the prosecuting executive-judicial officers felt against them.

In open combats with non-violent breakers of unjust, immoral and oppressive laws, the police under European control have beaten, belabored, and battered the nationalists, men as well as women, with their giant iron-tipped clubs, and broken their heads and limbs with fiendish ferocity. First-aid has been denied the wounded, who have been kicked and beaten after falling unconscious. Horses have been run over passive crowds of men and women whose sole guilt consisted of refusal to disperse. Firearms have been used to kill numberless demonstrants, who possessed no arms at all. Armored cars and troop-carrying lorries have been run into thickly-gathered crowds, and hundreds have been crushed and many smothered to death. Sexual tortures have been inflicted on non-resisting volunteers of Gandhi, many of whom have been maimed or severely, even mortally, injured thereby.

*First hand data for this indictment of British repressive rule in India is compiled in this issue. See Mr. Holmes's article, "What's Going on in India."

Protected by the cordons of miltary forces, as in Peshawar and Sholapur, the agents of "law and order" have shot down hundreds of Indians without any discrimination between the malcontent and the law-abiding. Troops have fired volleys at inhabitants who moved about their daily business on the streets, and English soldiers have shot wildly into people's homes as their lorries have sped to and fro in city streets. Men and women and children in homes, kitchens, bathrooms and beds have been wounded from the destructive sprees of Tommys' guns and wearers of Gandhi caps have been made ready targets of English rifles. Bombs have been dropped on inhabitants of undefended villages which were suspected of harboring malcontents. Societies and organizations, of the most strictly religious character have been declared illegal and their members and officers hunted down like dogs, killed, wounded or imprisoned.

The Indian National Congress and its Provincial Committees have been proclaimed unlawful assemblies. The Presidents of the All-India Congress Committee (National Congress Executive) have been jailed, the Congress funds have been impounded and property seized or padlocked. Congress "War Councils" have been suppressed and their members by the hundreds have been jailed. Their bulletins and news releases, even the mimeographed ones have been forcibly stopped and the equipment destroyed.

Food and water have been denied to Congressmen held in duress for as many as fifteen and twenty hours at a stretch. Places of worship have been broken into and those on altars, shot down or dragged out, and the sacred scrolls desecrated. Persons under suspicion of disaffection have been stripped in public forums and flogged, without regard to age or physical condition. And crowds of respectable citizens of cities like Bombay have been chased off the streets by the use of "Bastanados" (rubber or leather thongs attached to canes or sticks). And all this by the officers of the Law, under command of European officials, members of government included.

"The Rule of Britain in India today is an act of war," said A. Fenner Brockway, M. P., in addressing a meeting of Londoners on July 1. "The repression in India," he added, "is sterner than it has ever been since the Mutiny (1857). Pacifists in this country ought to be conducting a much more vigorous agitation than they are doing."

Are there any Americans yet left whom the tale of the Indian sufferings, or the words of decent Englishmen and women may arouse to the realization of their human and moral duty to bestir themselves and stem this all-engulfing tide of British official barbarism? One wonders.

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The Significance of the Struggle in India

The present struggle in India between an unarmed people and the most potent government is a unique and instructive phenomenon. It represents the fight between the spirit of a people and the efficient machinery of a nation. To all appearances, it is an entirely unequal fight. A disarmed people, emaciated by exploitation and soul-killing peacefulness, cannot in normal conditions dare to give battle to a system of government which is famed for its costly efficiency and abnormal military strength.

But this struggle has been going on for the last ten weeks and has given rise to the strange spectacle of the physically stronger of the two combatants showing nervousness and panic at this elusive resurrection of self-consciousness among a hitherto dormant people. The Government has been trying all the resources which it can command; it has thrown almost all the leaders of first rank into prison, and deprived thousands of peaceful citizens of their liberty; it has added new weapons to its armory by promulgating executive fiats, "ordinances" they are called in India, prohibiting persuasion and dissuasion of peaceful nature, and assuming arbitrary power of suppression over the press in the country.

But all these measures do not appear to have brought them nearer victory, nor even the end. The number of volunteers who get arrested is increasing since the Government resorted to the plan of disbanding "Camps" by force. The fact that volunteers, and even spectators, are brutally handled by the officers of law and order, and have their bodies trampled upon by the horse's hoofs of the mounted police, has not deterred the continuation of the struggle, nor altered in the slightest the non-violent character of the resistance. In some places in South India hospitality rendered to the volunteers has landed the hosts in prison, and these went to them very cheerfully.

In their endeavors to kill the movement the Government has become the law-breaker; but that does not diminish the number of volunteers who are engaged in the struggle. The boycott of British cloth and the simultaneous increase in production and distribution of *Khaddar* have become phenomenally successful, and certain areas in Gujerat have even taken to non-payment of land revenue.

The Government sees the spirit of the people grow under its blows, and seems to be at its wits' end to know how to combat this movement which by its moral elevation holds it out for (Government) abhorrence.

This is a fight between a giant and a child. The giant gives all the blows; the child receives them without murmur, and pushes on. It is difficult to predict what the end of the struggle will be, or when. But one thing is certain, neither the incarceration of the leaders and the promulgation of new laws on the one hand, nor the brutal maintenance of "law and order" on the other, has toned down the struggle. They have only accelerated it.

L. N. Gubil.

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What's Going On in India?

What's going on in India is a question difficult to answer. Great events are occurring—the greatest, from the standpoint of world significance, since the Great War and the Russian Revolution. But India is far away, and her myriad voices become faint before they reach our ears. The country is vast, large portions of it comparatively inaccessible, and thus not easily covered even by our modern news agencies. Few of our newspapers have correspondents in India; and these are hampered, if not altogether suppressed, by the British censorship. Native journals have almost entirely disappeared under the brutal tyranny of the *Raj*. Such news channels as are available are under strictest government supervision. And this means that such news as comes to us is in most cases the news that England is willing or wants us to see. In the world-shaking struggle of a great people to be free from foreign rule and exploitation, we are hearing only one side of the story. Yet, even in this modern age of rigorous mechanical control of life, is it impossible altogether to suppress, or permanently and finally to distort, the truth? "Murder will out" still! We are learning, to some extent at least, what is happening these days in India.

I.

Thus, in spite of every precaution on the part of Britain, the dispatches of some special newspaper correspondents have gotten through.

First in importance is the story of Peshawar as sent to the *New Leader* (London)—a story which promises to take a place in Indian history side by side with that of Amritsar. The account runs as follows:

Conflicting reports (of events in Peshawar on April 23) have appeared in our own press from various sources sympathetic to the British *Raj*. It has been impossible to obtain a coherent account of the happenings from the scanty and often contradictory statements which have been printed. For a considerable period after the disorders all postal, telephonic and telegraphic communication with Peshawar was stopped, and for some time no one was allowed to enter or leave the city without special permission.

The messages which are being or have been sent are all subject to a rigid censorship. It can be taken as certain that only news acceptable to the authorities will be permitted to pass in the ordinary way.

The report we have received has been prepared by Mr. Abdul Quadir Kasuri, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, Lahore, and President of the Punjab Satyagraha Committee. Mr. Kasuri says in it that he has taken pains to discover the facts by interviewing a number of responsible eye-witnesses, and, after considering all the statements, he believes his version of the occurrence to be as nearly as possible the truth.

Some account of the preliminary happenings is necessary. The origin of the trouble lay in the decision of the British authorities to refuse to allow a deputation from the All India Congress Committee to visit Peshawar.

The prominent local Congress leaders and workers with a large crowd of their followers had assembled at Peshawar railway station on April 22 to give a fitting reception to the deputation. When it was made known that the deputation had been turned back, a large procession was formed and marched through the city, and in the evening a huge mass meeting protested against the action of the Government. It was announced at this meeting that arrangements had been made to picket the five liquor shops in the city the following morning. (These liquor shops are an important source of Government revenue.)

The Frontier Government, as a consequence, decided to arrest the important leaders and in the early hours of the morning of April 23, six Congress leaders were arrested.

Then followed a series of events which can be understood only in the light of Mr. Gandhi's teaching of non-violence.

When the local Congress Committee heard of the arrests, they were informed that warrants were also out for the arrest of two other members of the Committee. They immediately accompanied these two in a procession to the police station, where they surrendered themselves to the officer in charge.

Meanwhile the picketing of the "toddy-shops" was being carried out by batches of volunteers. At sunrise the news of the arrest of the leaders led to a spontaneous hartal (a general strike which includes the closing of shops). At 9:30 a. m., when a huge crowd was standing peacefully in front of the Congress Committee office cheering the volunteers leaving on picket duty, armed police arrived with warrants for the arrest of two other of the leaders. The crowd immediately made way for the arrested men to come out, and they surrendered themselves to the police.

It should be noted at this point that, from the report, it appears that although it was now past 10 a. m., and a number of Congress leaders had been arrested—some of them publicly and voluntarily offering themselves for arrest—while there was a complete hartal in the city, *there had been absolutely no disorder and not the least cause given to the authorities to fear that there would be any.*

There follows a dreadful account of happenings which, if they can be substantiated, show that at Peshawar was repeated a massacre of unarmed Indians similar to that of Amritsar.

We give the account in the words of the report:

'. . . the crowd had been behaving throughout in an exemplary manner. (While it) was returning towards the city two armored cars full of soldiers came from behind without blowing the horn or giving any notice whatever of their approach, and drove into this crowd regardless of consequences.

'Many people were brutally run over, several were wounded, and at least three people died on the spot. In spite of the provocation, the crowd still behaved with great restraint, collected all the wounded and the three dead persons. We possess photographs of some of them.

'At this time an English officer on a motorcycle came dashing past. At to what happened to him it is not quite clear. There are two conflicting versions. The semi-Government version says that he fired into the crowd, and one of the persons who was wounded by the shot struck him on the head and he died. The other version . . . is that he collided with the armored car. . .

'At the same time one of the armored cars caught fire . . . it is alleged, on the one hand, that it was set fire to by the mob; the other version is that it caught fire accidentally . . . a troop of English soldiers had reached the spot, and without any warning, began firing into the crowd, in which there were women and children. . . .

'Now the crowd gave a good example of the lesson of non-violence that had been instilled into them.

'When those in front fell down wounded . . . those behind came forward with their breasts bared and exposed themselves to the fire . . . some people got as many as 21 bullet wounds in their bodies . . . all the young people stood their ground without getting into a panic.

'A young Sikh boy came and stood in front of a soldier and asked him to fire at him, which the soldier unhesitatingly did, killing him. Similarly, an old woman, seeing her relations and friends being wounded, came forward, was shot, and fell down wounded. An old man with a four-year-old child on his shoulders . . . advanced asking the soldier to fire at him. He was taken at his word and he also fell down wounded. Scores of such instances will come out on further inquiry.

'The crowd kept standing at the spot . . . and were fired at from time to time until there were heaps of dead and dying lying about. The Anglo-Indian paper of Lahore, *which represents the official view*, wrote to the effect that the people came forward, one after another, to face the firing, and when they fell wounded, they were dragged back and others came forward. This state of things continued from 11 o'clock to 5 p. m. . . After this struggle the leaders of the public and volunteers collected all the remaining bodies, and these alone came to 65 in number, and there is a list of these people kept.

'Two facts are noteworthy . . . there was not one single instance where there was the mark of a bullet at the back . . . neither the police nor the military, nor anybody else alleges that there was any stick or weapon, blunt or sharp, with the persons in the crowd, nor were any wrenched from any person . . . by the authorities.

'. . . At this stage it is very difficult to say what is

the number of the dead and wounded. This much seems most likely, that the number of dead is in hundreds, and a careful study of the situation seems to disclose this incident to be a repetition of (the) Jallianwala Bagh massacre.'

Commenting on "this tale of horror and moving heroism," this English editor declares that it "provides a terrible indictment of the government authorities at Peshawar." He continues:

It is not enough in face of such a statement to seek refuge in the customary official denial. The events recorded here are given on the testimony of a responsible Congress leader, and have received wide credence in India.

There is urgent need for an immediate inquiry that will satisfy Indian opinion. The present official inquiry is useless for that purpose. If these reports from Indian sources are untrue the sooner that can be reliably shown the better. If they are substantially true the punishment of the panic-stricken officials responsible must be immediate and adequate.

If charges of this gravity are permitted to go unchallenged in the present inflamed state of Indian opinion, the reckoning one day will be a terrible one.

The Government must be pressed to take action without delay to establish a joint Commission of Inquiry, on which there should be Congress as well as Government representatives.

So far as known, no such inquiry has been ordered.

Second among these news stories in our western press is a special dispatch from Mr. Webb Miller, United Press correspondent, dated Bombay, India, May 22. It is significant to note that this dispatch got through by mail. As printed in the New York *Telegram,* it runs as follows:

Dharasana Camp, Surat District, Bombay Presidency, May 22 (By Mail)—Amazing scenes were witnessed yesterday when more than 2,500 Gandhi "volunteers" advanced against the salt pans here in defiance of police regulations.

The official government version of the raid, issued today, stated that "from Congress sources it is estimated 170 sustained injuries, but only three or four were seriously hurt."

About noon yesterday I visited the temporary hospital in the Congress Camp and counted more than two hundred injured lying in rows on the ground. I verified by personal observation that they were suffering injuries. Today even the British owned newspapers give the total number as 320.

Most of them were only lightly injured, some were bleeding from head wounds and some had fractures of wrists and arms. The great majority had contusions from blows of lathis, or long rods, carried by the police. A few had internal injuries resulting from jabs and punches in the abdomen with lathis. One volunteer has since died. For some time after I visited the hospital lines of stretcher bearers continued to bring injured.

The scene at Dharasana during the raid was astonishing and baffling to the Western mind accustomed to see violence met by violence, to expect a blow to be returned and a fight result. During the morning I saw and heard hundreds of blows inflicted by the police, but saw not a single blow returned by the volunteers. So far as I could observe the volunteers implicitly obeyed Gandhi's creed of non-violence. In no case did I see a volunteer even raise an arm to deflect the blows from lathis. There were no outcries from the beaten Swarajists, only groans after they had submitted to their beating.

Obviously it was the purpose of the volunteers to force the police to beat them. The police were placed in a difficult position by the refusal to disperse and the action of volunteers in continually pressing closer to the salt pans.

Many times I saw the police vainly threaten the advancing volunteers with upraised lathis. Upon their determined refusal to recede the lathi would fall upon the unresisting body, the volunteer would fall back bleeding or bruised and be carried away in a stretcher. Waiting volunteers, on the outskirts of the pans, often rushed and congratulated the beaten volunteer as he was carried off the field. It was apparent that most of the injured gloried in their injuries. One leader was heard to say, 'These men have done a great work for India today. They are martyrs to the cause.'

Much of the time the stolid native Surat police seemed reluctant to strike. It was noticeable that when the officers were occupied on other parts of the line the police slackened, only to resume threatening and beating when the officers appeared again. I saw many instances of the volunteers pleading with the police to join them.

At other times the police became angered, whereupon the beating would be done earnestly. During several of these incidents I saw the native police deliberately kick lying or sitting volunteers who refused to disperse. And I saw several instances where the police viciously jabbed sitting volunteers in the abdomen with the butt end of their lathi.

After the failure of the early attempts to lasso the barbed wire entanglements and pull them down, which resulted in many of the beatings sustained by volunteers, the Swarajists adopted a passive attitude of pressing as closely to the entrances as possible and sitting in groups in front of the police or lying on the ground. When they ignored orders to disperse the police stood over them with lathis and sometimes during minutes made motions of striking. The volunteers sat silently and finally the police were forced to strike. Usually only a few blows were inflicted upon each man except when the police became angered.

About 9 a. m. the officials apparently changed their tactics and instructed the police to drag the sitting and lying volunteers away from the pans. During a half hour, groups of two and four police seized volunteers and slowly dragged them by legs and arms over the ground and dropped them about 100 yards away. Frequently the volunteers would arise and press forward again.

In three or four cases the police carried volunteers and bodily heaved them into the deep ditches surrounding the salt pans. At one time my clothes were spotted with mud from the splashes.

I saw several volunteers who were struck with lathis at the edge of ditches fall into the water and lie half-submerged on the bank until stretcher bearers fished them out.

Once an excited volunteer near me, in a burst of exaltation, yelled in good English repeatedly to the British Superintendent of Police Robinson, of Surat, directing operations from the opposite side of the narrow ditch: 'Here is my breast! Shoot me! Kill me! It is for my country!' He tore his smock open and exposed his bare chest.

A few minutes later I was standing with an Indian newspaper correspondent when a volunteer approached and opened conversation by asking who I was. Robinson hurried over and arrested the volunteer and sent him to the barbed wire inclosure. Robinson said to me, "This fellow is a bad character."

I explained to Robinson that I was a neutral American correspondent. Just after this a contingent of about twenty-five native police, in khaki shorts and turbans, armed with rifles were drawn up on a knoll in front of where I stood. A group of about fifty lathi police were deployed and under the direction of Robinson commenced a slow advance against the crowds of volunteers who were then about 100 yards from the pans awaiting their turns to advance to the pans in groups.

Robinson instructed the Indian correspondent and me to stand aside from in front of the riflemen. The crowds slowly retreated without clashes. But within a few minutes on the left flank some volunteers refused to move and the beating with lathis recommenced. About a dozen volunteers were struck down in this fracas and carried away. Although it was occurring more than 100 yards away, the thuds of the blows were audible to me and to the crowd.

Once I saw a native policeman in anger strike a half-submerged volunteer who had already been struck down into a ditch and was clinging to the edge of the bank. This incident caused great excitement among the volunteers who witnessed it.

My reaction to the scenes was of revulsion akin to the emotion one feels when seeing a dumb animal beaten—partly anger, partly humiliation. It was to the description of these reactions that the Bombay censorship authorities objected among other things.

In fairness to the authorities it must be emphasized that the Congress volunteers were breaking laws or attempting to break them, and that they repeatedly refused to disperse and attempted to pull down the entanglements with ropes, and that the volunteers seemed to glory in their injuries.

In eighteen years of reporting in twenty-two countries, during which I have witnessed innumerable civil disturbances, riots, street fights and rebellions, I have never witnessed such harrowing scenes as at Dharasana. The Western mind can grasp violence returned by violence, can understand a fight, but is, I found, perplexed and baffled by the sight of men advancing coldly and deliberately and submitting to beating without attempting defense. Sometimes the scenes were so painful that I had to turn away momentarily.

One surprising feature was the discipline of the volunteers. It seemed they were thoroughly imbued with Gandhi's non-

violence creed, and the leaders constantly stood in front of the ranks imploring them to remember that Gandhi's soul was with them.

To this amazing first-hand story of horror, I add two special dispatches from Negley Farson, as published in the Chicago *Daily News* under Bombay dates, June 19 and June 21. The first of Mr. Farson's dispatches is as follows:

Bombay, India, June 19.—I stood yesterday on Malabar hill, outside the sacred fire temple guarding the "tower of silence," where naked-necked vultures were waiting to devour Parsee dead. Below me lay red roofs, Hindu temples, Moslem mosques and the English church spires of modern Bombay. Across the ledge of sighing date palms and the stucco homes of Indian millionaires I watched a Swedish tramp steamer going westward round the world over the Arabian sea.

A corpse had just been registered for exposure to the eager birds. And as I stood on the drenched ceremonial ground, sickeningly sweet with the scarlet blossoms of gold mohur trees, a low-voiced Parsee attendant told me that two hours after the body, stripped of its clothes, had been laid on the platform inside, the vultures would pick it clean. Just bones would be left, which would then be dropped into the well in the center of the tower, where the sun blazing over our heads would soon turn it into dust.

"Dust unto dust," he said slowly, telling of millionaire and beggar lying intermixed in that well. "We are all equal in death."

I had just left the home of a Hindu cotton broker, where upon my asking his slender daughter to display her command of English she had recited "The Owl and the Pussycat," after which he told me quite calmly that he did not mind if the British killed him in his determined fight for Swaraj, or self-rule, as he had done good work in this world and would therefore be reborn into an even more influential and prosperous life than he had lived in this incarnation.

I mention these beliefs because unless it is realized that they are fibers in the warp and woof of the Indian tapestry, its pattern is often quite impossible to understand.

Bombay for the third day was witnessing the baffling "battle" between the non-violent yet indispersible mob and perplexed British police sergeants outside Bombay's biggest department store, Whiteaway Laidlaws, on Hornby road. The police were considerably less truculent than on Monday and Tuesday afternoons because of their realization that hammering the crowd only made matters worse.

More white cotton clad figures would assemble until the efforts of the handful of police would be like pushing back the waves of the sea. The mob, on the other hand, had become slightly more bellicose as the police restrained themselves. And when they discovered what they claimed was an agent provocateur, a plain clothes man of the criminal investigation department, they set about him so furiously that only the prompt charge of the police saved him from serious injuries or worse.

And there the position was stalemated, the handful of police and the mob of thousands facing each other until sunset —while meantime idle attendants stood beside idle counters inside Whiteaway's store.

'We don't want to hit these blighters,' said a harassed police superintendent, 'yet we cannot make them go home.'

Today the strange battle between the mob and the police was still going on. Once the police were forced to charge the volunteers and arrest several of the most recalcitrant offenders.

Just before sunset yesterday the Indians departed to assemble with more than 150,000 other white cotton-clad figures to hear Pundit Motilal Nehru, president of the Congress party, address a monster mass meeting on the Maidan Esplanade. They covered an area of the size of many football fields.

As Motilal walked through the sea of figures to the platform, garlands of jasmine were hung around his shoulders by orange-robed Hindu society ladies, one of whom, as a gesture to give all for the cause, transferred from her slender neck to his shoulders her rope of pearls.

The venerable Nehru, father of the imprisoned revolutionary Jawaharlal Nehru, young Oxford-educated Indian, who is the real firebrand of the Swaraj cause, had come from his home in Allahabad to Bombay to lead the Congress cohorts here in resistance to the recent government ordinances prohibiting picketing, the refusal to pay land taxes and the boycott of officials. To break such laws was not lawbreaking, Nehru told the listening thousands, declaring:

'Ordinances and regulations should not deter you. . . . your deeds will be written in golden letters in history. . . . Carry on the fight.'

And thousands cheered him as he said that the fight would succeed if they remained nonviolent.

'But where can this end?' I asked a Hindu university student.

'Can you stop that?' he asked exultingly.

He waved triumphantly in the dusk to the moving sea of faces and white robes. It was calling 'Gandhi Ki Jai! Gandhi Ki Jai!' And it seemed as if anything— guns, bullets, police— could be smothered in the sheer cloying softness of that white cotton cloth.

Mr. Farson's second dispatch, "delayed in transmission," is as follows:

Bombay, June 21.—Heroic, bearded Sikhs, several with blood dripping from their mouths, refusing to move or even to draw their "kirpans" (sacred swords) to defend themselves from a shower of lathi blows—

Hindu women and girls dressed in orange robes of sacrifice, flinging themselves on the bridles of horses and imploring mounted police not to strike male Congress volunteers, as they were *Hindus* themselves—

Stretcher bearers waiting besides little islands of prostrate unflinching, immovable Satyagrahis, who had flung themselves on the ground grouped about their women upholding the flag of Swaraj—

These were the scenes on the Maidan Esplanade, Bombay's splendid sea-front park, where the six-day deadlock between police and Mahatma Gandhi's followers has broken out in a bewildering brutal and stupid yet heroic spectacle.

The scene opened at six o'clock outside the Esplanade. At the police station facing the park some hundreds of yellow turbaned blue-clad, bare-legged Mahratti policemen were leaning on their dreaded bamboo lathis under the command of a score of English police sergeants in toppees and cotton drill.

At 6:45, marching in good formation down the tree-lined, pleasant boulevard, came the first detachment of volunteers. This was the ambulance unit, mostly boys and young doctors, dressed in khaki with Red Cross badges on their arms. They marched past the waiting police without a glance to the south side of the playing field, where they parked their ambulances and brought out their stretchers.

It was like nurses and orderlies preparing an operating theater.

At 7 o'clock began to come processions of white-robed volunteers bearing red, green and white banners, singing "We will take Swaraj-India Our Motherland." At the head of each walked a tiny detachment of women and girls dressed in orange robes, many garlanded with jasmine. They marched steadily on past the policemen and actually lined up behind the stretchers.

They waited there in a long front down the boulevard for the order to march on the field.

I shall not forget the scenes which followed. Darkfaced Mahratti policemen in their yellow turbans marched along in column led by English sergeants across the field toward the waiting crowd. As they neared it the police went faster and faster. The Hindus, who may be willing to die but dread physical pain, watched them approach with frightened eyes. Then the police broke into a charge.

Many Hindus at once ran, fleeing down the streets—but most stood stock still.

Crash! Whack! Whack! Whack! At last the crowd broke. Only the orange clad women were left standing beside the prostrate figures of crumpled men. Congress volunteer ambulances clanging bells, stretcher bearers running helter-skelter across the field. Whack! Whack! Whack!

A minute's lull and then, with flags flying another column of volunteers marched onto the vast green field. A column of Mahrattas marched to meet them. They clashed—a clash, a rattle, dull thuds, then the faint-hearted run and again there was the spectacle of the green field dotted with a line of fallen bodies and again the same islands of orange clad Hindu women holding up the flags of Swaraj.

And here in the center of one of these islands sat a little knot of men, their heads bowed, submitting to a rain of lathi blows—refusing to move until on a stretcher and completely laid out. And there were stretchers within two feet of the suffering men, waiting for them.

Then came a band of fifty Sikhs—and a heroic scene. The Sikhs, as you know, are a fierce fighting brotherhood. As soon as he can raise one, every man wears a beard which he

curls around a cord or ties to his ears. The Sikhs also wear their hair long like women and curl it in a topknot under their turbans. These Sikhs were Akalis of a fanatic religious sect. They wore the karpan, or sacred sword.

With them were fifteen of their young girls and women. The women also wore sacred swords, and although dressed in orange saris like Hindu women, they wore little cotton trousers which reached to their tiny, sandaled feet. They were pretty girls and not so loud voiced and excited as the Hindu ladies. They simply smiled—as if they liked danger—which they do.

One of them had her little baby, which she wanted to hold up before the police to dare them to come on. She laughed at me when my remark was translated that it was terrible to drag a child into this.

Coming from all districts as representatives of the fighting Punjab, these Sikhs swore they would not draw their karpans to defend themselves, but they would not leave the field. They did not.

'Never, never, never!' they cried, to the terrific delight of their Hindu brothers in Swaraj. 'We will never retreat. We will die, we will!' The police hesitated before hitting the Sikhs. They asked their women would they not please, please, leave the field.

'No,' said the women, 'we will die with our men.'

Mounted Indian policemen who had been galloping across the field, whacking heads indiscriminately, came to a stymie when they faced the little cluster of blue Akali turbans on the slender Sikh men.

'The Sikhs are brave men—how can we hit them?' It was not fear, but respect.

But the police, determined to try to clear the field, at last rushed around the Sikh women and began to hit the men. I stood within five feet of a Sikh leader as he took the lathi blows. He was a short, heavily muscled man.

The blows came—he stood straight. His turban was knocked off. The long black hair was bared with the round topknot. He closed his eyes as the blows fell—until at last he swayed and fell to the ground.

No other Sikhs had tried to shield him, but now, shouting their defiance, they wiped away the blood streaming from his mouth. Hysterical Hindus rushed to him, bearing cakes of ice to rub the contusions over his eyes. The Sikh gave me a smile —and stood for more.

And then the police threw up their hands. 'You can't go on hitting a blighter when he stands up to you like that.'

On the general situation in India this scene cannot fail but have a bad effect. Thousands of Hindus and Moslems were either participants or witnesses of the affair. The hates aroused will further intensify the boycott of British goods. Revolutionary elements find this scene excellent material for their cause. Sikhs are aroused to fury.

II.

The accuracy of these reports is abundantly confirmed by newspapers received from India. These journals are being published under enormous difficulties, but they manage to intimate, if not actually to record, the truth. Most important are the daily Bombay *Congress Bulletin,* issued in crude mimeographed sheets in defiance of the British police. This *Bulletin* reminds of the day when such clandestine papers were published in Russia in the days of the Tsar. Excerpts from these natives sources follow:

Shiroda "Raiders" Thrashed by Police

(Bombay *Chronicle*)

Camp Shiroda, May 15.—In the morning a young boy sang a song melodiously reminding the Satyagrahis that God is their support. Mr. Kausambi, the officer in charge of the Chhavani, implored all those volunteers that could not bear heavy beating of the lathi blows, starvation for two days (on account of the social boycott, the Government cannot procure anything for the arrested volunteers till they are sent off to Belgaum or other places) or remain without smoking in the jail, to go back to their homes. Seven honest volunteers among the two hundred raised their hands to signify their wish to return home.

At 5:20 p. m., amidst shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai," the party started with brisk steps. The party reached the destination at a distance of half a mile within seven minutes. The Collector, the D. S. P., along with one hundred sepoys armed fully with lathis and twenty policemen with rifles in their hands stationed at a distance of fifty yards behind stood on the road. At a distance of a hundred yards from the sepoys the volunteers stopped. Mr. Ecbote with twenty-two proceeded forward to raid the salt depot. The Collector came forward to inform the twenty-two that they were an unlawful assembly and should therefore disperse. If they did not, the responsibility would lie on their heads for any injury caused. These twenty-two Satyagrahis marched on. One hundred policemen who possessed lathis only, attacked the twenty-two. Each one of them was thrashed. Two swooned and were carried away by the Satyagrahi ambulance corps.

Mr. Kausambi intimated that he was to lead the second batch. The Collector ordered the inspector of police to arrest him. Mr. Soman at once took the charge and came forward with eleven strong. He wished to address the policemen, which request was declined. When he commenced to address his own volunteers he was put under arrest. Then again the policemen assaulted the non-violent soldiers, seven of whom became unconscious. Both the combatants sat quietly for half an hour. During this interval the Satyagrahis that had already taken part, sat at a distance of fifty yards and sang Bhajans of religious character.

Not only the remaining fifty-nine, but the Khandesh batch of 60 marched on three fronts. The police force was at once divided to meet every front and the volunteers were assaulted. Several volunteers were receiving lathis blows coolly. The volunteers, in spite of all the blows they received, rushed successfully to the salt depot, bought back handful of salt and then fell senseless. The Collector gave a notice to the public to disperse within five minutes. As the work chalked out for the day was over Mr. Pandit, one of the prominent men in the Shibir, intimated his intention of carrying only the wounded. The Collector granted permission. All told four were dangerously, fifty-seven seriously injured and the rest hurt.

Mr. Kausambi was then declared released. He remarked that the Collector had broken his word. He wished still to make a raid. The Collector humorously said he could do so as he himself was giving him permission to carry as much salt as he could. Mr. Soman was also released.

The next story taken from the June 12th issue of Gandhi's paper, *Young India,* was written by Miss Madeline Slade, an English woman of high standing, daughter of the late Admiral Slade of His Majesty's Navy. She has for several years engaged in social work in India and speaks of conditions with unusual personal understanding. Upon the appearance of this article by Miss Slade, the Government of India called upon the publisher to deposit with it a sum of rupees 50,000 (about $17,000) to insure that such articles would not be printed again. The publisher refused to comply, whereupon *Young India* was suppressed and its printing press confiscated. This article should be compared with Mr. Miller's dispatch above:

Exemplary Behavior of the Police

During these days when the authorities in Whitehall and Simla are never tired of extolling the behavior of the police, I thought I would go and see for myself how this "exemplary behavior" has affected the *Satyagrahis* (civil resisters) at Dharasana (where they were violating the laws against salt).

I reached Bulsar at mid-day on the 6th (June), just as the wounded were being brought in there from the "raid" of that morning. Many of them were being carried on stretchers, others could just struggle from the motors to hospital wards.

"The beating and torturing has been most merciless today!" said the doctors and attendants. I proceeded round the rooms to visit the *Satyagrahis* more closely and to take notes from doctors as to the nature of their wounds.

Literally I felt my skin to creep and my hair to stand on end as I saw those brave men, who but a few hours previously had gone forth absolutely unarmed, vowed to non-violence, now lying here before me battered and broken from head to foot.

Here was a young man with his shoulders and buttocks so beaten that he could not lie on his back, yet his arms and sides were so damaged that he did not know how to turn for rest. There was another gasping for breath with his chest badly battered, and nearby was a strong, tall Musselman lying utterly helpless.

"What are his damages?" I asked. "He has received fearful blows on the stomach, the back and right leg," they replied.

"Also his testicles are both swollen, having been badly squeezed by the police."

We went upstairs. Here my attention was attracted by the sound of sharp drawn, whistling breathing, intermixed with heartrending groans. It was a young man writhing in agony. He kept catching at his stomach, and at intervals he would suddenly sit up as if he were going to go mad with pain.

'He has had a deadly blow right on the abdomen," they said, "and *he has been vomiting blood. He has also had his testicles severely squeezed, which has shattered his nerves.*'

They fetched ice and applied it to the head and damaged parts, which gradually soothed him.

And on we went from this house to another, where we found still more and more wounded.

Every one to whom I talked gave the same description of fiendish beating, torturing, thrusting and dragging and one and all spoke with burning horror of the foul abuse and unspeakable blasphemy which the police and their Indian and English superiors had poured upon them.

So this is some of the exemplary behavior of the Police, of which the English lords and gentlemen are so proud! Do they not know what is going on? No, that surely cannot be, for such high-placed English officials as the Commissioner of Northern Division and the Collector of Surat have been all along on the field of action.

What then has become of English honor, English justice?

No amount of argument can excuse what they have been doing at Dharasana.

The object of the *Satyagrahis* has been a civil breach of the salt laws, which are universally admitted to be unjust. The *Satyagrahis* were ready to accept unresistingly the legal punishment of arrest and imprisonment, but the authorities thought it preferable to employ other methods. Then on May 22, perhaps to try and lend a shade of legality to their actions, the authorities brought into force Section 144 (Indian Penal Code), making any gathering of more than four persons an unlawful one.

With this emergency law in force it might be argued by the official world that it is justifiable to try and disperse a collection of people by lathi (steel-knobbed, six-foot clubs) charges, if they refuse to go away when ordered, even though the individuals are absolutely non-violent and known not to be going to hurt a single person. That much brutal argument one might understand from their point of view. But nothing could excuse the manner in which they have actually dealt with *Satyagrahi.*

Who could dare to uphold as a means of dispersing a non-violent gathering:

1. Lathi blows on head, chest, stomach and joints;
2. *Thrusts with lathis in private parts, abdominal regions;*
3. Stripping of men naked before beating;
4. *Tearing off loin cloths and thrusting of sticks into anus;*
5. *Pressing and squeezing of the testicles till a man becomes unconscious;*
6. Dragging of wounded men by legs and arms, often beating them the while;
7. *Throwing of wounded men into thorn hedges* or into salt water;
8. *Riding of horses over men as they lie or sit on the ground;*
9. Thrusting of pins and thorns into men's bodies, sometimes even when they are unconscious;
10. Beating of men after they had become unconscious, and other vile things too many to relate, besides foul language and blasphemy, calculated to hurt as much as possible the most sacred feelings of the *Satyagrahis.*

The whole affair is one of the most devilish, cold-blooded and unjustifiable in the history of nations.

India has now realized the true nature of the British *Raj,* and with the realization the *Raj* (rule) is doomed.

The following paragraphs are taken exclusively from the Congress *Bulletin,* a single sheet of rough paper, printed in roughest mimeographed style. The hasty and furtive nature of the work done to produce this little paper is shown by mis-spellings of words, unsystematic capitalizations, etc. I reproduce the material as received:

The Outlawry of the Congress

(*Congress Bulletin,* May 26)

The tentacles of repression are closing round the Congress organization. It is only a matter of a few days before every Congressman is declared to be an outlaw. We await that moment with joy—it shall be the greatest vindication of the truth to which we have consecrated our lives. For a Government whose law is the killing of children, the molestation of women and murder of unarmed men can only add justice to our cause and sanctity to our lives by declaring us outlaws.

But we put it to the world whether the fishy arm of sneaking cowardice can go further than the way the present Government behaves. Where it has the right to arrest, it loves to beat, to fracture arms, to break skulls and to splinter ribs. Where it presumes to protect it sends out its soldiers to kill at random and to imprison without reason, and now, where courage would have dictated a policy of openly declaring the Congress organization as unlawful, they are resorting to every mean stratagem to achieve their end and yet avoid the honest and gentlemanly course.

There is not a Congressman who has not broken the law of the British Government in India and yet they pick and choose, arrest and assault at their erratic will. But behind it all the purpose is clear, and that is to cripple the Congress. In Bombay they have arrested the whole War Council. In Punjab and Bengal every leader of note has been sent to jail and today news comes from Cawnpore that all leading Congressmen of that place have been arrested. There is hardly a village or city in the land which has not offered up at least one man for Government victimization. And yet with every arrest the movement has gained an added momentum. And no human agency can today stop the onward march of the Nation to freedom. We invite the Government to do its worst, as we shall offer up our best and noblest.

The Tocsin of Revolt

(*Congress Bulletin,* May 17)

The tocsin of revolt is ringing to the length and breadth of this land, uphill and down dale, through misty towns and sunny plains, in crowded avenues or in remote mountain fastnesses. The nation has risen in revolt to end this tyranny, this affront to the majesty of Life itself. To every man, woman and child, the message has come. It will not be for long that the booted foreigner can stampede through the land, killing and destroying, burning and pillaging, starving and famishing. In Peshawar men have been shot down and villagers bombed and yet the frontier men's courage still challenges the British bayonet and bomb. In Delhi, Viramgam and Madras women have been beaten, trampled down by horses. Even then the resurgence of the nation has found its soulful expression in the Sevikas of this land. In Dharasana 120 *Satyagrahis* braved the scorching sun and the rigors of a 28 hours starvation and when the ghostly arm of the law took them away, hundreds more came, beaten, arrested. Press acts have been forged, coercive sections have been promulgated, ordinances have been hurled and martial law proclaimed only to intensify the spirit of revolt. The curse of imperialism has got to be ended. Albion's insolent might will crumble into the dust.

In Bombay the Presidency Magistrate has issued a fiat that the Congress *Bulletin* shall die. We pity the self-assurance of His Worship. For the Congress *Bulletin* lives. It is being printed in thousands. Citizens are rushing to buy it in the hundred thousands. It is being sold openly in the streets even before the citadels of supposed Law and Order. It has been offered for sale to these very agents of law. People are openly defying the law, for the law of Britain is the law of the cowards and the tyrants. And the Congress call is unto truth and righteousness. Imperialism is crashing to its doom. The grave is not for us. Its mouth is gaping for the tyrant. We shall seek the repose of the sepulchre when our great cause is vindicated and our purpose achieved.

Congress Bulletin shall never cease. Yesterday three volunteers were arrested for selling the Congress *Bulletins* and after detention of some time were released. As soon as the news reached the Congress House the lady members of the Youth League came rushing to the editor and offered their services for selling the *Bulletins.* We had to decline their offer even while we admired their courage. We have no doubts whatsoever that the instant the authorities begin to arrest the volunteers for selling the Congress *Bulletins,* thousands of persons will be found selling the Congress *Bulletins.* It is quite plain that the Congress *Bulletins* can not be repressed. The *Bulletin* is the expression of the temper, will and the grim determination of the nation to achieve freedom. The Government shall therefore rest and hear the voice of 33 millions of people. This voice cannot be repressed by the deadliest weapons in British armory. Whatever steps the Government may take the Congress *Bulletin* will continue. If need arises, arrangements will be made to issue the Congress *Bulletin* from hun-

dreds of homes in the city of Bombay. Long live Congress. Long live the Congress *Bulletin*. Long live the will and grim determination of the people. *Inquilab zindabad! Congress Bulletin zindabad!*

They Have Answered the Country's Call

(*Congress Bulletin*, May 23)

Sjt. K. F. Nariman has been sentenced to four months' S. I. by the Third Presidency Magistrate. Dr. Choksi, Prof. Johri, Sjts. Krishna Iyer, Padbidri, Niphadkar, Narayanswamy and Patankar have been sentenced to six months' R. I. They have issued the following joint message to the citizens of Bombay:

"Continue the struggle on the new issue till victory is achieved."

Dharasana

(*Congress Bulletin*, May 23)

Picture for a moment this great battlefield of Dharasana, the modern Kurukshetra, where a nation of heroes paid tribute of suffering, sacrifice and death itself to the great cause of freedom. Throw back your mind's vision to the early morn of the 21st of May when 2,600 *Satyagrahis* advanced on the salt pans, the symbols of foreign exploitation. They had no weapon of offense except the love with which they meant to conquer the hatred and evil of their opponents. They had no armor of defense except their courage, fortitude and preparedness to suffer and to serve. Thousands of villagers had assembled in respectful devotion. The grim forces of the government had been massed opposite. The silent Khaddar-clad army marched on. They reached the fences, when without warning and without question, and with no mercy, a gang of hirelings was let loose to beat and to assault, to kick and to hammer, to yell and to insult. The *Satyagrahis* stood unflinchingly and bore the hailstorm of blows until they fell down and were pitilessly dragged and thrown into the mire. Very few of the regular police force was employed in the lathi charge. A motley band of ruffians were hired by the government and were supplied with thick staves of all kinds, the regulation "dandukas" not being used. This band consisting of all the riff-raff of the surrounding villages was plied with drink overnight and then let loose on the peaceful *Satyagrahis* in the morning. Little wonder that one volunteer had to pay the sacred penalty of death. Sjt. Bhailalbhai has given a dying statement to Dr. Harilal Desai in the presence of a civil surgeon, which will reveal in all its gruesome detail the murderous activities of the government at Dharasana.

Wadala Raid—Lawlessness and Brutality—Skull Fractured —Unconscious Satyagrahis Mercilessly Thrashed

(*Congress Bulletin*, May 23)

The raid on Wadla salt pans continues. The custodians of law and order are infuriated. They are not satisfied by merely arresting satyagrahi volunteers. This morning about 100 volunteers, some from Bombay and others from Matunga and Dadar, started for Wadala salt pans. A force of 25 Excise Police and about 100 ordinary policemen guarded the salt pans. As soon as the satyagrahis entered the prohibited area, the excise policemen fell upon the satyagrahis and began to belabour them. One had his skull fractured; one satyagrahi was so severely thrashed that he fell down unconscious. They dealt him seven danduka blows and continued beating him though he was unconscious. One of the assaulters was not in uniform. He was clad in what appeared to be white khaddar and Gandhi cap. After performing this meritorious work the assaulters put a finishing touch to their law and order business by throwing the wounded satyagrahis like dogs out of the salt pans into the muddy soil outside. 69 satyagrahis were arrested, put in a police van and sent to Worli. One rich cotton broker who took part in the raid was also arrested.

Merciless Assaults on Wounded Satyagrahis—Military Vandalism and Destruction of Untadi Camp

(*Congress Bulletin*, May 30)

Sjt. Maganlal Dayalji, a salt satyagrahi volunteer of Bulsar and in charge of the Kitchen Department of the Untadi Camp, makes the following statement, being an eye witness:

Today, there was no Satyagrahi raid on Dharasana.

This morning, 22nd May, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mr. Antia, and Sub-Inspector, Mr. Sabawala, came to the Camp and ordered us peremptorily to vacate it within fifteen minutes and warned us that otherwise we would be shot down. Immediately after they entered the Camp with a strong military and police escort. They entered by way of the Hospital Camp where nearly a hundred wounded volunteers were lying, and broke the water jars and ordered even those volunteers who were so seriously wounded as not to be able to move, to get away. But none left.

Then they came to the Camp proper where more than three hundred volunteers were taking rest. They attacked them with lathis and dragged away those who fell down wounded and bleeding.

They also assaulted Doctors and chased them out of the Hospital limits. Even those who have been injured and lying helpless were not spared this merciless assault. . . . .

The Tyrant's Smithy

(*Congress Bulletin*, May 26)

The Government resorts to arson in Madras. All the Satyagrahis have been arrested and the Satyagrahi camp burnt down at Madras.

Sergeant throws stones. At Wadala a sergeant was discovered by a National Militia volunteer throwing stones at the public to infuriate the people and then resort to savage reprisals. Even as it is, the sergeants had their merry game. They even chased the public as far as the Gowari station and beat them severely as a result of which two people are lying in hospital in a precarious condition. Even the ladies were threatened by those petty myrmidons of the law.

Assaulted for crying slogans. The public outside the Lahore court were charged by the police for raising national slogans. Twenty-five people were injured. The police arrested 36 people. In Multan the police assaulted the members of a procession and killed one.

British Firms on the Warpath

(*Congress Bulletin*, May 30)

Khaddar Wearers Victimised:—The boycott of British goods has created a panic among the British firms. British capitalism is employing all its resources to break the boycott. The smaller minds among them are resorting to a method of bullying that can only add bitterness to a constitutional protest. Instances have come to our knowledge where various British firms in Bombay have dismissed or otherwise have asked such of their employees as have taken to the wearing of *khaddar*.

Satyagrahis Challenge Martial Law in Sholapur

(*Congress Bulletin*, May 28)

The insult that was hurled by the Military at Sholapur against the National Flag was not to remain unanswered. Despite the penalty of 10 years' imprisonment 3 *Satyagrahis* from Poona entered Sholapur with National Flags in their hands and were arrested. The Maharashtra War Council has decided to send batches of three to offer Satyagraha. A batch of 27 Volunteers from Ville Parle have left for Poona to support the defiance of Military terrorism at Sholapur.

Satyagrahi Victory at Worli

(*Congress Bulletin*, May 30)

A situation that threatened to be menacing owing to the refusal of the authorities to make proper food arrangements for the Satyagrahis at Worli has been solved.

The quality of the food supplied to the prisoners has been so bad that about 200 of them are suffering from the ill effects of it. Fifty have been admitted to the hospital.*

Hospital for Highclass Hindus—Admits Mohammedans

(*Congress Bulletin*, May 28)

It is one of the noblest signs of the great awakening in the land that the Harkisondas Hospital, which admits only high caste Gujerati Hindus, should have admitted Mohammedans. Divisions of caste, creed and community are being fast broken down that our great land may sooner emerge to Freedom and Glory.

"India Is Our Motherland"—Enthusiastic Parsis Join in a Mammoth Procession

(*Congress Bulletin*, May 30)

It was a great sight yesterday evening when a mammoth procession of Parsis enthused with love for their adopted country paraded the streets of Bombay, headed by Mrs. Captain—the Grand-Daughter of the Grand Old Man of India. Thousands of Parsi ladies had also joined it, and their shouts, *"Boycott British Goods,"* show what a great and wonderful change has come over them in last one month—for the Desh Sevikas had the greatest difficulty in stopping the Parsi ladies from buying Foreign Cloths. That a community so organized, so powerful, so full of sympathy for the poor and the trodden

* I have received a sample of this prison food, sent to me from India and do not wonder that the *Satyagraha* prisoners are ill. The food seems to be a kind of combination of straw and cement.—J. H. H.

should join wholesale—for the procession consisted of more than half the Parsi population of Bombay—and rally round the Congress Flag, is surely sign, of which the Britishers were afraid, and seeing which, will they shiver in their shoes.

III.

In addition, I have private letters from Indian sources. I append some selections from these letters, written by different persons at different times and places:

" . . . Seventeen (17) Indian soldiers who refused to shoot down unarmed Indian people have been sentenced to five (5) to fifteen (15) years."

Volunteers numbering 1200, who are now imprisoned in Bombay, were assaulted by the police and military. As a result 200 were wounded. The cause of the trouble was the barbed wire placed between the *chawls* (where the prisoners were confined) and an adjoining one which was occupied by workers who protested and their ladies who offered *satyagraha* (passive resistance). The English removed them by force, at which the volunteers in jail jeered and shouted out "Shame." This excited the police and the military who immediately called *Lathis force* and charged the volunteers. Some of these, quietly reading in their own rooms, were mercilessly beaten. Captains of the volunteers were called out by the police to quiet the excitement of the people who were outside the barbed wires, and as soon as the police saw them they even in the presence of their officers struck them with *Lathis* and mercilessly belabored them. Among the victims of this atrocity was a Jain saint, Muni Jainvijayaji, ex-principal of the Research Department of Gandhi's university in Ahmedabad. . . . I was an eyewitness to this. Let me add that the volunteers in jail were absolutely unarmed and offered no resistance.

Last night a procession from Congress house was banned. It was led by ladies at 4 in the afternoon, and as they were not allowed to proceed all sat down, perspiring under the summer heat and waited till 12:30 in the night, when the police got tired and removed the cordon. The ladies reached the desired place at 2:30 in the night, where the meeting was continued for eight hours by other batches that started from different parts of the city. People were quiet and orderly, yet 17 were wounded by the police *Lathi* charge. A young boy who carried the banner was mercilessly belaboured, and the national flag was torn by the police.

. . . Below I sketch a few of the brutalities played by this government to suppress the Indian *Satyagraha* movement. . . . In spite of these brutal tortures, martyrs have remained still. They did not budge an inch from the path they have lined for the freedom of the Motherland. These martyrs do not know how long they were dragged like dead dogs after beng unconscious. But their bleeding bodies told the fact. . . . They snatch off the men's garments, twist and squeeze the testicles and even batter them till their victims foam at the mouth and become unconscious. I am sure that you would never have been in the midst of these "Christians."

I do not know in what form and in what proportion you are getting news from India these days. I am sure you are receiving neither full nor accurate reports of current developments. We, who are right here in India and are working at the very center of the Congress organization, are almost isolated. Press reports are not reliable. Our mails and telegrams are not delivered to us, nor to those to whom we send them, or, if they are, they are hopelessly censored. However, we are managing somehow to get as full and accurate news as possible. The war—if one may use such a barbarous term to represent the present struggle—goes on with unabated vigour. The government have apparently lost their balance which had so surprised us in the beginning. The Viceroy has promulgated three Ordinances, of which the Press Ordinance is the most dreadful. Nationalist papers have been forced to suspend publication. Police terrorism has not relaxed. Even women have been assaulted, at some places in the most indecent manner. Martial Law has been declared in Sholapur (in the Bombay Presidency). In the course of the operation of this so-called law an editor—to give only one instance—has been sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs 10,000! At Peshawar and Calcutta any gathering of more than five has been declared unlawful assembly (except religious gatherings). Crowds have been fired upon without sufficient cause. Terrible things have happened at Peshawar. A peaceful crowd was fired upon for several hours, it seems, causing several deaths. A remarkable thing is that of the 65 dead bodies found by the Congress people not one had a wound in the back. Rows upon rows of men marched forward quietly to receive bullets in their chests. Much of the Peshawar happenings are yet a mystery. The Congress has appointed a Committee of enquiry, but the committee have been disallowed to enter the North West Frontier. . . . One of my American professors, who left India just before Gandhiji's march began, wrote to me from Bombay that nothing could stop the movement. And so it seems. The spirit of the people is undaunted and gives promise to remain so for some time. Nothing will stop the movement.

The whole of Mahatmaji's *Ashram* is practically in jail. The Labor Party's rule in India means *Lathi* blows. Some of the volunteers who also happen to be my relatives have received injuries on face, hands, back, front, and even in secret parts deliberately. *Lathi* blows are given until they become unconscious.

In Sholapur my friends report that those who wore Gandhi caps were subjected to severe sentences. I do not know when my turn will come. We are passing through such times that anybody can be clapped in jail, or receive blows at a baton march of the police.

. . . The present struggle of absolute non-violence on our part and ruthlessness on the others has precipitated a racial animosity, and Government is running amuck and is merely functioning by ordinances and martial law. . . . I wish you could be here to see what is going on. Last evening I had to carry four boys (all under 16) to the hospital whose only fault was that they shouted 'boycott British goods' and were standing by an English shop. . . . The police one night even ran into a popular library and threatened to shoot if those in the hall didn't stop shouting 'Shame, shame, boycott British goods,' the library being next door to an English firm."

IV.

This is but a small selection of the material lying here on my desk, but there must somewhere be an end to this compilation. Nor may there be another compilation like it! For, since beginning this article, my streams of information have suddenly begun to slacken, and signs are plenty that the sources in India are soon going to fail.

Thus, the special correspondents of our American newspapers, who sent such revealing dispatches a few weeks ago, are no longer being heard from. What has happened to Mr. Webb and Mr. Farson? Are they still writing and their words being stopped in the offices of the British censor? Have they been silenced by command of the British authorities? Have they been kindly helped to leave India? Whatever the reason, first-hand stories are no longer coming through.

In the same way, the Indian papers are getting fewer. Most of them are not arriving any more—they have undoubtedly been suppressed! Those that still appear are evidently cautious and in much confusion of editorial mind. But the brave little *Bulletin* still appears. Its editors are one by one going to jail, its distributors are thrown into prison as fast as they are caught, its printing press was long since confiscated. But still it appears—a wretched little mimeographed sheet, sometimes scarcely readable, but the bravest and freest newspaper I have ever seen.

Even private letters are beginning to fail—especially those which have been coming to me carefully hidden away in the folds of newspapers and pamphlets. But these letters are still arriving, openly or surreptitiously, and tell all that need be known of what's happening in India today. A revolution is on, conducted peacefully and patiently by the bravest people in the world. God speed their cause!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The Indian Crisis—A Conflict Between Man and Machine*

Many years ago Mahatma Gandhi came to Santiniketan. I asked him to explain to me what he meant by Swaraj which he claimed for India. He did not give a direct answer to that question, but simply said that he had a genuine respect for the British people. My interpretation of this seemingly irrelevant reply is that at that time he had the idea that to sever India's political connection with this people was not absolutely necessary for the sake of her self-respect, if our relationship could be mutually set right. Evidently he was dreaming of a scheme of freedom in which the British nation could participate, so that it could become a moral triumph for both sides.

Mahatma Gandhi has lost his long-lingering faith in our Government, and according to him the path of mutual understanding is hopelessly closed. This has happened in spite of the fact that our present Viceroy is the best type of English gentleman, which according to me means the best specimen of humanity. But the fact is that personality has very little room in Indian Government, especially when some minor patchworks in a routine system are useless and fundamental changes are necessary in order to restore the centre of gravity which is threatened.

India is being ruled by a complicated machine. The mechanics who drive it have a long training in power, but no tradition of human sympathy, which is superfluous in a workshop. They are incapable of understanding the living India owing to the natural mentality of bureaucracy, which simplifies its task and manages an alien race from a distance through various switches and handles and wheels and hardly ever through human touch. It produces perfect results so long as the subject race meekly behaves like dead material yielding to the machine-made law and order, offering no resistance when exploited. The people who is morally responsible for this flawlessly standardized rule lives across a far-away sea, is satisfied at the unmurmuring silence brooding over a vast country, at a peace which is uncreative like that of a barren waste, and clings to a comfortable faith in the man on the spot and to the proud privilege of a first-class Power in the West.

In the meanwhile Europe's own quickening touch has gradually awakened the dormant life of India. But the machine manufactured over a century ago, in its stolid indifference still ignores it, and in a blind insensitive efficiency tries to make mincemeat of the newly risen humanity of India, for, alas! it knows nothing better. The expert in the engine-room is indignant to find that the time-honored system does no longer produce law and order, and he becomes more and more red in the face and dangerously furious.

What Mahatmaji had tried to do was to request the expert not to identify himself completely with the machine but to remember that he is also a man.

I know at this moment there are thousands in my country who are suffering without any chance of redress, even those who do not deserve it. For the machine-government lets loose its fury of wholesale suspicion against risks which its blindness cannot define. But I hate to indulge in self-pity on an occasion like this. Conflicts between man and the machine have often happened in various shapes in human history. It is a desperate struggle, and man defeats the machine not always by his success but by his sufferings.

I deliberately use the word machine, for it is not your great people who is behind this fight. I myself have a firm faith in what is human in your nation, and the credit is yours for this very struggle for freedom that has been made possible today in India. The courage that has been aroused in our country, the courage to suffer, carries an unconscious admiration for your own people in its very challenge. At heart it is a moral challenge, being sure of a moral response in your mind when our claim is made real to you by our sufferings. And I dare ask you to contradict me when I say that such sufferings have won your admiration, and that you secretly feel small by the enormities that you allow to be perpetrated in a state of panic upon a people who are no match for you in their power to return your blows adequately or retaliate your insults, for you cannot belie your real nature and all that has made you great.

Being sure of it, Mahatma Gandhi had the temerity to ask you to take our side and help us to gain the greatest of all human rights, freedom and to free yourself from the one-sided relationship of exploitation, which is parasitism, surely causing gradual degeneration in your people without your knowing it.

There can be no absolute independence for man. Interdependence is in his nature and it is his highest goal. Let the best minds of the East and West join hands and establish a truly human bond of interdependence between England and India in which their interests may never clash, and they may gain an abiding strength of life through a spirit of mutual service without having to bear a perpetual burden of slavery on one side and that of a diseased responsibility on the other which is demoralizing.

In its relation to the Eastern peoples the aspect of Western character which has come uppermost is not only insulting to us but to the West itself. Nothing could have been more unfortunate in the history of man than this. For all meetings of men should reveal some great truth which is worthy of a permanent memorial, such as, for instance, had been the case of India's meeting with China in the ancient time.

But what is most unfortunate for us in Asia is the fact that the advent of the West into our continent has been accompanied not only by science, which is truth and therefore welcome, but by an impious use of truth for the violent purpose of self-seeking which converts it into a disruptive force. It is producing in the countries with which it is in contact a diseased mentality that refuses moral ideals, considering them to be unworthy of those who aspire to be rulers of men and who must furiously cultivate their fitness to survive.

That such a philosophy of survival, fit for the world of tigers, cannot but bring a fatal catastrophe in the human world they do not see. They become violently angry at those who protest against it, fearing that such a protest might weaken in them the animal that should be allowed to survive for eternity.

Let us, the dreamers of the East and the West, keep our faith firm in the life that creates and not in

*An address by Dr. Tagore before the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends in London, England.

the machine that constructs—in the power that hides its force and blossoms in beauty, and not in the power that bares its arms and chuckles at its capacity to make itself obnoxious. Let us know that the machine is good when it helps, but not so when it exploits life.

—*Rabindranath Tagore.*

India in Bondage*

The outstanding fact about Dr. Sunderland's book is that it was suppressed by the British bureaucracy which rules over India. As inevitably as a proposition of Euclid that first fact leads to a second, namely, that the contents of the book are unanswerable. Despotisms do not suppress books because they are false, but precisely because they are true.

I have some experience. When the Anti-German war was in full swing, a book on India, written by an Indian, was given me by a gentleman who is now a member of the British Cabinet. I had barely got time to run my eye over its contents when Scotland Yard came to see me. Its voice was smooth and its touch of velvet. Had I a copy of such-and-such a book in my possession? Yes, I had. Would I mind producing it? Not at all. Thank you; you don't mind my taking it away? I can't say that, but I hope you will make a point of reading it; an excellent book, and I am glad I got it into my head before you were good enough to relieve me of it. Good morning. Good morning.

It is time to make known the truth about India. The world does not know, the British people do not know, the British Parliament does not know, the British Cabinet does not know, the truth about India. Do you remember the atrocity at Amritsar? Well, not till eight months after its perpetration did the British Parliament, or the Cabinet, or the Secretary of State for India himself, get to know of that affair. So successfully did the British bureaucracy prevent that story of British 'frightfulness' from reaching the outside world! If that was possible in 1919 is it likely to be any better today when even officialdom admits that 'about 40 newspapers and 17 weekly and bi-weekly periodicals in India have ceased publication since the promulgation of the Press Ordinance'? The time has come for honest men to demand the truth, and to publish the truth for the moral judgment of the world. Here, in Dr. Sunderland's book of 531 royal octavo pages is a marshalling of essential facts—historical, political, statistical, economic, sociological and international—sufficient to make any student master of the situation. Hereafter, when you hear any ignorant or self-interested or prejudiced person asserting the beneficence of British rule in India, or the baselessness of Indian discontent, you may safely retort: 'Have you read Dr. Sunderland'?

Assuming that Britons are acquainted with the British side, Dr. Sunderland invites his readers to look at the matter from the Indian side, the side of the conquered race, the people who bear the obloquy, do the drudgery, endure the poverty, and pay the bill of costs for keeping themselves in subjection.

How did Britain get possession of India? History is quite explicit. Piratical adventurers from Portugal, Holland, France and Britain maneuvered and fought for possession of the fabled wealth of Ind, till Britain won out, and has exploited the country for her own enrichment and imperial aggrandizement ever since.

By what means has Britain kept possession of India? History is equally explicit. By force of arms and the deliberate weakening of Indian power of resistance. At India's expense we keep there an immense army, with machine guns to mow down rebels, battleships to bombard their cities, and airships to bomb the villages and tribesmen when they become restive. Besides the danger of an Indian rising, there is the danger of a rival pirate attempting to steal the most precious jewel in the British crown, and against that eventuality India must be still further taxed and impoverished. It is against that eventuality also that Britain keeps the largest navy afloat, and augments it by the creation of a 'Royal Indian Navy' for which famine stricken India must be yet further bled.

Why do we keep India against her will? The answer is, For business and prestige——'My Indian Empire'—it sounds so grand! Yet India is a land of hunger. Dr. Sunderland quotes from Mr. W. S. Lilly's book, 'India and Its Problems,' this astounding statement: 'During the first eighty years of the nineteenth century, 18,000,000 (eighteen millions) of the Indian people perished of famine. In one year alone—the year when her Majesty, Queen Victoria, assumed the title of Empress [of India], 5,000,000 (five millions) of the people of Southern India were starved to death.' In that single fact one may see the whole proud comedy and black tragedy of the British occupation.

The pretence that we govern India 'for her good' is worn too thin to deceive anybody; it is an excuse not a reason. So with the pious humbug that India has been committed to us as a 'sacred trust.' I cannot stay to argue these preposterous hypocrisies, which Sir George Trevelyan dismisses as 'loathsome cant,' and J. A. Hobson as 'too gross a piece of bunkum for the platform of a Primrose League.' Lord Birkenhead, to do him justice, is entirely frank: India is 'an incalculable asset' to this country, and to surrender it would be 'folly' and 'poltroonery.'

Lord Brentford is equally plain: 'We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we should hold it . . . as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular.' (*Navavidhan,* April 7th, 1927.) Thus the carefully nourished myth of British benevolence in India is smothered by its own creators.

How do we govern India? The answer is, by irresponsible power; by bureaucratic methods when things are quiet; by Bengal Ordinances, Rowlett Acts, Martial Law and Occasional Atrocity when Disaffection lifts its head. Britain's despotic rule in India is paralyzing the whole world's democratic progress, for it sets a bad precedent to other nations, and it sends back

*This article, by one of UNITY's English representatives, is based on a reading and review of J. T. Sunderland's famous book of this same title. This is the voice of the true England.—EDITOR.

to England (after the expiry of their period of service, when they are pensioned for life on the exchequer of starving India) cohorts of official imperialists, great and small, to reinforce the Tory invincibles of London, and to spend the rest of their days putting the skid on the wheel of progress. For an account of mock Parliaments, Dyarchy imposture, and the mysteries of 'Certification' and 'Reservation,' I must refer you to the book. The testimony of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt may state the total effect of British rule:

> In India the natives, as they call them, are a race of slaves, frightened, unhappy, terribly thin. Though myself a good Conservative and a member of the London Carlton Club, I own to being shocked at the bondage in which they are held, and my faith in British institutions and the blessings of English rule has received a severe blow. I have been studying the mysteries of Indian finance under the best masters, Government secretaries, commissioners, and the rest, and have come to the conclusion that, if we go on developing the country at the present rate, the inhabitants will have, sooner or later, to resort to cannibalism, for there will be nothing but each other left to eat.
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> (*Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt.* p. 47.)

If the British people, in normal times, think at all about India, they dimly imagine that the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy, see to it all right. But any Member of Parliament will tell them otherwise. There is not a single Indian in the House of Commons, nor a single person elected by them to represent their interests. The officials are all British, knowing little or nothing about the country before they take over an office which has to do with the destiny of nearly 400,000,000 (four hundred millions) of human beings. The present Prime Minister in his book, 'The Awakening of India' (p. 265), asserts that there is actually less Parliamentary control of Indian administration today than in the days of the East India Company, which confirms his yet stronger assertion in another place: 'No race or nation can govern another justly.' (*India in Bondage,* p. 315.)

To tell how we exploit India is impossible in brief space, but there is no sadder page in the guilty annals of modern imperialism. Through Dr. Sunderland's volume we trace the destruction of Indian industries and manfactures in the interests of those of Britain, tariffs, imperialistic wars (at India's expense), high salaries and pensions to a multitude of British officials, erection of official buildings, offices and churches, taxation of necessary commodities such as salt, revenue derived from the Government sale of alcohol, opium and other drugs against the protests of Indian leaders, —all this (and more) makes a tale of plunder and continuous tribute which cannot be reckoned even in hundreds of millions of pounds sterling; and when the Indians rise against this polite brigandage, and demand India for the Indians, they are guilty of 'sedition,' 'mutiny,' 'rebellion' and their patriotism is smothered in blood.

One of the wonders of Indian character is that the *moral* deterioration of their country appears to afflict the leaders as much as its economic exploitation. They deplore the moral degradation of their people by the alcohol and opium forced into public use by Governments, the degradation of their women in ways I must leave you to read about, the humiliation of Indian culture and scholarship before British arrogance, the social ostracism which is a more offensive caste and 'untouchableness' than that of ancient India itself, and the general emasculation of character which is inevitable in a nation subjected to foreign rule. It is the *soul* of India which Tagore, Gandhi, and their high-minded comrades are striving to save, for India's and for Humanity's good. The present Prime Minister has shown that he is alive to this side of the question. In his book, 'The Awakening of India,' (p. 213), he again says:

> In all attempts to govern a country by a "benevolent despotism" the governed are crushed down. They become subjects who obey, not citizens who act. Their literature, their art, their spiritual expression go. They descend to the level of mere imitators and copyists. . . . When we recall the riches of Indian civilization in the past it becomes plain that the loss of initiative and self-development has been greater in India than in almost any other country.

Dr. Sunderland deals critically with the various excuses tendered by British apologists, such as the existence of divisions among the Indian people themselves. But where is the assurance that absentee Britain can control and unify the numerous races and languages of India better than Indians themselves could do? On this point, the Prime Minister again enters the witness box, saying in his book, 'The Government of India' (pp. 28-9):

> India . . . is naturally the area of a single government . . . Geography has foreordained an Indian Empire. Its vastness does not obscure its oneness; its variety does not hide from view its unity. . . . Political and religious traditions have also welded it into one Indian consciousness. This spiritual unity dates from very early times in Indian culture . . . and has never lost its potency.

Thus, there would appear to be no greater difficulty in creating the United States of India than there was in creating the United States of America. The pity is that in both cases Great Britain has to get out of the way. *E pluribus unum.* Out of many, one. And, in fact, Britain's imperial policy is driving or drawing Indians of all races, classes and religions into one vast Confederation of Revolt against the foreign domination of the last century and a half.

It is puerile to suggest the occasional collisions between Hindu and Mohammedan processions as a reason why Britain should continue to occupy the Indian peninsula, especially in view of the grave suspicion that British policy has a little more than welcomed—has even encouraged and fostered division between the two parties, on the old and well-grounded principle of *Divide et impera,* Divide them and rule them! The testimony of Lord Olivier (Secretary of State for India in the first MacDonald Ministry) is pointed enough:

> No one with a close acquaintance with Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officialdom in favour of the Moslem community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy but more largely as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism. (Letter to *The Times.*)

The Prime Minister himself has backed his colleague's judgment, and with sharper emphasis, referring to the widespread

> suspicion that sinister influences have been and are at work on the part of the Government; that Mohammedan leaders have been and are inspired by certain British officials, and that these officials have pulled and continue to pull wires at Simla and in London, and of malice aforethought sow discord between the Mohammedan and Hindu communities, by showing to the Mohammedans special favours. (*The Awakening of India,* p. 283.)

Equally childish is it to allege illiteracy and social ills as justifying the British stranglehold. England and Scotland were self-governing kingdoms when their

very kings could not sign their own names. That plea is totally irrelevant. Besides, if India is still so badly educated, whose fault is it? During our century and a half of occupation we have been neglecting our duty. Give India a chance to educate herself; she has scholarship and genius enough to challenge us in the universities of the world.

As for social evils, is it not a sort of impudence for a government that thrusts alcohol, opium, and 180,000 soldiers on a protesting country to hide behind such an accusation? There are social reformers in India as well as here, as eager and unselfish, and an "All-Indian Social Conference" has to record its disappointment at the indifference or actual opposition of the Goverment to its proposals. Loose India's hands to deal in her own way with caste, untouchability, and the rest. With prostitution, vice, divorce, illegitimacy, drunkenness, snobbery, fraudulency, murder and other crimes of violence on our own hands, we have enough to do.

Certainly our relations with India have now reached a stage when these too-obvious excuses have worn thin; they have served their day, and are acknowledged to be hypocritical humbug; so they have yielded ground for a more fair-seeming plea. The plea now is that we are 'educating India for self-rule.' One does not laugh at this, only because one is too sick. What western nation is fit to teach self-rule to a people with a civilization and culture so illustrious as that which adorned India for long centuries before the inhabitants of these islands had slipped out of their wolf-hides and washed the woad from their skins? How much so-called 'education' is considered necessary? When is it to be completed? Why was self-government not instituted at Versailles in 1918 when other nations were liberated? Why not on December 31st, 1929, the period which the Indian National Congress set as the time-limit for a definite and authoritative intimation of a process of self-determination to be immediately set on foot? Why not now, instead of bombing the villages, breaking the heads of processionists, suppressing free speech and free printing, and muzzling behind prison walls the men and women who are most competent to confer with us on their country's behalf, and to cooperate with us in a Round Table Conference whose definite objective shall be—without any more shilly-shallying—the drafting of a self-governing constitution for India? Do we mean what have professed, or do we not? We may protest that India is not yet fit, but is not the real reason precisely that India is *too fit!* Witnesses are more numerous than I can stay to quote. Perhaps the fundamental truth is that every British government is *afraid* to do this just thing. The present Prime Minister—as we would expect in him—sees the great necessity. Will he also seize the opportunity? Hear him:

> The moral justification that has always been made for the existence of our empire amongst subject peoples has been that we are training them for self-government. The most typical of that is our Indian empire. A thousand and one reasons are given for a little more tutelage. . . . Now plain practical common sense should come to our rescue. Nobody can imagine that any harm will come from independence. Let independence be granted. (*The Daily Herald,* October 17, 1927.)

We may cherish the fair hope that a Prime Minister so minded, arming himself with justice in his right hand and courage in his left, may yet write his name high among the most illustrious in the history of Britain and of India, delivering the first from its shame and the second from its misery, by the restoration of a country's liberty. Listen again:

> I hope that within the period of a few months, rather than years, there will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within the Commonwealth. (*Speech at Labor Conference,* July 9, 1928.)

This is no time to argue the case as between Dominion Status and outright Independence. The last word on that subject will be with India. India will be free, that is the ultimate fact, and the only choice before us is—by peace, or by war? If by peace, we draw a reconciled India to us by ties of friendship more enduring than political treaties; if by war, we incur the guilt of another crime against humanity, and lose more than we have ever gained.

Perhaps the real conflict is going on within the limits of the British Islands; the conflict between the Britain which is yet barbarian at heart and the better Britain which is humane and responsive to the growing spirit of international brotherhood. In that clash of motives humane and religious persons will know what side to take.

This is a bigger question than the loss or retention of India; it is a question of world-peace; it is a question of Humanity. In vain do we cry "Peace! Peace!" in a world where three hundred and fifty millions of Orientals are held in resentful bondage by forty millions of Europeans. "Because men are not stones," nor yet angels, that way lies Armageddon—"Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision!"

But "when the emasculating influence of India's subjection is over, and she once more becomes free, and when, therefore, Indian men and women become able to again grow to the full height of their stature and proclaim to the world the mission which is to be theirs, then a great stream of moral and spiritual energy, long lost to view, will have returned to its channel, and East and West—white and dark and yellow and brown—will all have cause alike to rejoice." (Hon. G. K. Gokhale, quoted by Dr. Sunderland, p. 180.)

WALTER WALSH.

London, England.

Mahatma Gandhi

Clad in a loin-cloth, poor, with empty hands,
Confronting Empire, unperturbed he stands,
A self-deluded Hindu! How absurd!
Great Britain can destroy him with a word.

Great Britain can destroy him? So it can!
Imperial Rome once crucified a Man.
Rome once destroyed a "self-deluded" Jew,
Who, dying, said—"They know not what they do."

The "self-deluded" Jew whom Rome despised,
Later, by Rome, was apotheosized.
Mahatma! Saint! With all great souls allied!
Condemned today—tomorrow justified.

DWIGHT BRADLEY.

The Welcome (The First Church in Newton, Mass.)

Britain, Palestine and India

[Editor's Note: This article, written by a distinguished Indian international scholar, presents a viewpoint of the Palestine problem as related to the larger problem of western imperialism in the East, which is of fundamental importance.]

I

Jewish aspirations for the establishment of a "homeland for the Jews of the world" in Palestine, is the central idea of the Zionist Movement. Zionism did not become a factor in world politics until the British Government, after mature deliberation, decided to use the economic, political and social forces of the Jews of the world to strengthen British imperialism. The Balfour Declaration of 1917, which unconditionally championed the cause of Zionism by extending British support for establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine, was issued primarily to secure the powerful support of the Jewish world, especially American Jewish bankers, on the side of Great Britain and her allies against Germany in the Great War.

According to the secret Anglo-French agreement, concluded before the Balfour Declaration, the whole of Syria was to become a part of France's share of the spoils of the war against Germany and her ally, Turkey. Furthermore, the British Government induced the Arabs to revolt against Turkey and promised British aid to establish a United Arab Empire, which would have included Palestine. In spite of these agreements, however, the British Government did not wish that Palestine, rich in raw materials, and a most important strategic point in the defense of the Suez Canal, Egypt, and the whole of the Middle East—the region between the Suez Canal and India—should fall into French or Arab hands, and therefore utilized the Zionist Movement through the Balfour Declaration for the purpose of securing a British Mandate over Palestine. Just as British statesmen planned to deprive the Germans of the control of the Berlin-Bagdad Railway, similarly, long before the beginning of the twentieth century, a group of British imperialists, headed by the late Cecil Rhodes, decided to acquire Palestine for Britain. (This fact is clearly indicated in the famous *Will of Cecil Rhodes,* by late William Stead.) British statesmen do not love the Jews because they are Jews; but, as usual, they used the Jewish cause for their own purpose of strengthening the hold of British Imperialism on that neck of land (Palestine) which has the most significant position in relation to the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe.

II

After the establishment of the British Mandate in Palestine (which really meant virtual British annexation of Palestine), the Jews were encouraged to spend vast sums of money in Palestine on the development of natural resources and on Jewish immigration. While the British Government was thus encouraging the Jews of the world to migrate into Palestine, an influential group of British statesmen, under the leadership of Hon. Col. Josiah Wedgewood, M. P., formed a committee to transform Palestine into the "Seventh Dominion" of the British Empire. Some of the British Conservative leaders, however, especially Earl Winterton, while supporting British control over Palestine, were opposed to all moves which might alienate Arab support from the British. The forward policy of the Zionists, which included the program of purchasing lands from Arabs and establishing industries under Jewish control, clashed with that of the Arab nationalists and intelligentsia who wished to rule Palestine under British protection. During the last ten years many minor clashes between the Jews and the Arabs occurred in Palestine; and last year, 1929, a serious massacre of Jews by Arabs at Jerusalem and other places led to the appointment of a British Royal Commission to investigate the situation. The Jews of the world demanded from the British Government that Jewish rights to establish their homeland in Palestine, which had been recognized by the League of Nations, should be protected by the Mandatory Power. In the meeting of the League Assembly in 1929, Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, speaking on behalf of the British Government, gave a solemn assurance that Britain would not relinquish her responsibilities in the Holy Land.

III

There is not the least doubt that the British Government, through the Balfour Declaration, agreed to the establishment of a "Jewish National State" in Palestine. But the recently published report of the Royal Commission on Palestine shows that the British Government is anxious to appease the Arabs who are violently opposed to any further extension of Jewish political and economic power. In this connection it is interesting to note the stand of the Arab leaders as expressed by Emir Ardel Arsian, the head of the Arab Delegation in the United States:

> The only way that an understanding can be reached between the Jews and the Arabs is through the abolition of the Balfour Declaration. We Arabs cannot recognize any foreign political power in our country, and we consider the Zionists such a foreign power. We have no quarrel with the Jews in Palestine if they have no political ambition. . . . Our aim is to establish in Palestine a native government with a parliament representing the entire population, Arabs as well as Jews . . .

To the amazement of the Jews of the world, the British Government, to please the Arabs, has recently suspended Jewish immigration into Palestine. This action has caused the Jews of various countries, especially the Zionists of the United States, to protest against the attitude of the British Government.

The message of protest sent to Sir Roland Lindsay, the British Ambassador to the United States, by the International President of B'nai Brith contains the following significant passage:

> The B'nai Brith, an international fraternity of Jews with 80,000 members in twenty-five countries, has learned with keenest regret of the order suspending Jewish immigration to Palestine issued by the High Commissioner. . . . Jews the world over, in reliance on the Balfour Declaration and the proverbial good faith of His Britannic Majesty's Government, have literally poured their money, their energy and their enthusiasm into the undertaking of rebuilding the ruins of their cradle land and reclaiming its waste places. It has been the conviction that Jews were being encouraged to enter Palestine of right and not on sufferance. What adds to our deep concern is the knowledge that the action of the High Commissioner was not prompted by economic needs. We therefore respectfully

urge upon His Majesty's Government a removal of the misgivings of world Jewry created by the dissemination of the order through an early suspension of it and reopening of the gates of Palestine to those who seek entrance thereto.

There is no doubt that the British Government, at least for the time being, has decided to favor the Arabs and to sacrifice the Zionist interests in Palestine. This decision has been arrived at in order to secure Arab (Moslem) support for the protection of British imperial interests in India.

To realize the full significance of the present attitude of the British Government against the Zionist cause, one should visualize the tremendous revolutionary drama that is progressing in India and the British program of combatting it by playing the Moslems of India over against the Hindus. The recently published report of the Simon Commission has recommended that the Moslems of India should have "communal representation" and "special privileges," so that the Moslems of India will not make common cause with the Hindus and Indian nationalists in general. The British Government rightly feels that the favor shown to the Arabs will have tremendous effects upon a section of Indian Moslems. In fact they know that the Arab religious leaders will use their influence with the Indian Moslems so that the latter will side with the British against the Indian nationalists. It may be said that the British Government is only repeating the policy which it pursued in suppressing the Sepoy Mutiny. In 1857 the British Government agreed to support Turkey against Persia and Russia, provided the Sultan of Turkey, as the then Caliphate, used his influence on Indian Moslems, especially on the Nizam of Hydrabad, to aid the British Government against the Indians who were in rebellion to overthrow British rule in India. The pro-British stand of the Sultan of Turkey *did influence* the Nizam of Hydrabad and other Moslem leaders to side with Britain, which helped the British Government in crushing the Sepoy Mutiny.

Just now the British Government has decided to support the Arabs and to sacrifice Jewish interests—the Zionist cause—in Palestine, so that the whole Moslem world, especially a large section of Indian Moslems, will side with the British in suppressing the march of Indian Revolution whose goal is to establish a republic of the United States of India. British statesmen used the Zionist cause as a convenient means to secure British control over Palestine. They are now using the Arabs against the Zionists so that they will be able to uphold and further British imperial interests in India and the rest of Asia during the present crisis.

One may feel certain that, if the Arab movement assumes a dangerous character and threatens British control over Palestine, then the British will try to crush the Arabs by using all possible means, and then again the Zionists will receive cordial support and encouragement from the British Government. There is only one form of consistency in British policy towards other peoples. British statesmen are always willing to use other peoples to promote British imperial interests and to destroy a nation which may become a menace to British World Empire.

TARAKNATH DAS.

Words, Words, Words!

I.

The moral justification that has always been made for the existence of our Empire among subject peoples has been that we are training them for self-government. The most typical of that is our Indian Empire. A thousand and one reasons are given for a little more tutelage. . . . Now plain, practical common sense should come to our rescue. Nobody can imagine that any harm will come from independence. Let independence be granted.—*J. Ramsay MacDonald,* in 1927.

II.

There are more than three hundred million people in India; there are forty million of us English in the British Isles. We claim to know what is good for those people better than they do themselves. Was there ever impudence more colossal? Because our skin happens to be white we claim more brains than those whose skin has been browned by the sun. Whenever I look at Indians I feel ashamed of myself.

—*George Lansbury,* in 1920.

The Charkha

(The Spinning-Wheel)

Spin, spin, a nation is waking,
A fresh dawn is breaking, a new day is born;
Weave, weave, Arya Varta is waiting
For garments of homespun to greet the new morn:
Spin for the starving who are not yet dead,
For the life of the Motherland hangs by a thread;
Weave the bright web of a future so great
The world will allow that man weaves his own fate—
Spin, spin to the naked, give clothing,
Food to the hungry, wheels to the poor;
Work, work, all idleness loathing,
For only by spinning, our lives we insure.

Spin, spin, a nation is winning
Its freedom by spinning, its place among men;
Spin, spin, our women are singing;
"The *Charkha* is needed above sword or pen."
The Goddess of Liberty sits at the wheel,
And substitutes spinning for bullets of steel;
She smiles that the living continue to weave,
And women and children have no cause to grieve—
Spin, spin, a new *flag* is winging
The symbol of woman abroad unto man:
Work, work, the *Charkha* is spinning
A cable to circle the globe in its span.

MAUD RALSTON SHARMAN

Poems of Indian Patriotism

India has always been a land rich in poetry. Some of the greatest poets and poems of the world have been hers. Today, if a consensus of the intelligence of mankind were obtained as to the greatest living poet, it would probably name Rabindranath Tagore. India's present mighty struggle for freedom and a place once more among the world's illustrious nations is producing a great burst of patriotic song. The following are a few examples:

J. T. S.

I.

Bande Mataram. India's National Hymn

My Mother-land, I sing,
Her splendid streams, her glorious trees,
The zephyr from the far-off Vindhyan heights,
Her fields of waving corn,
The rapt'rous radiance of her moonlit nights,
The trees in flower that flame afar,
The smiling days that sweetly vocal are,
The happy blessed Mother-land;
Her will by unnumbered million throats extolled,
Her power unnumbered million arms uphold.
Her strength let no man scorn.
Our every temple doth thy form enfold,
Unequalled, tender, happy, pure.
My Mother-land I sing.
Thou art my head, thou art my heart,
My life and soul art thou,
My soul, my worship, and my art;
Before thy feet I bow.

—*Bankim Chandra Chatterji.*

II.

India's National Anthem

Hail Land of ancient name.
  Bharat of holy fame,
Motherland mine!
  Teach me to know thy worth,
O, Land of Sacred Birth,
  Thou Soul of All the Earth,
    My heart is thine!

Land where the Sages walk,
  Where Saints and Prophets talk,
    Blest be thy clime!
The glory of thy past
  Awakes to life at last,
In all the splendor vast
    Of that bright time.

Nations arise and fall,
  But thou dost stand through all,
    Unchanged by time.
So shall it ever be,
  Child of Eternity,
The Gods do favor thee
    With grace sublime.

Bharata's sons arise,
  And sing unto the skies
    Fair India's praise.
Her ideals are not dead,
  For which her children bled,
She proudly rears her head
    To greet new days.

—*K. C. Rangaswamy, Madras.*

III.

India's Prayer

At Thy lotus-feet, O God of India,
I stand with a prayer in my heart;
I hear the tumult and the storm,
I seek to know Thy will
In the night of the Nation I love.
I offer my prayer that Liberty may come to Thy children.
Hast Thou no stake in their sorrows and their struggles?
Is it not Thy will that truth and justice shall prevail?
Can Freedom fail to this Nation of ancient fame?
Wilt Thou let Thy people perish
In their battle for the Right?
O lead us through darkness to Light.
Our oppressors have put chains upon our souls as well as our bodies;
Lead us out of our bondage.
We have watched long for Thy Light to pierce our Night.
O summon Thy Stars of Morning!
Let them sing the song of our Bards and Sages—
The song of India's long-looked for Day of Freedom.

—*Professor T. L. Vaswani, Karachi.*

IV.

India's Aspiration

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country

—*Rabindranath Tagore.*

V.

India, Arise!

O Young thro' all thine immemorial years!
Rise, Mother, rise, regenerate from thy gloom,
And like a bride high-mated with the spheres,
Beget new glories from thine ageless womb.

The nations that in fettered darkness weep,
Crave thee to lead them where great mornings break;
Mother, O Mother, wherefore dost thou sleep?
Arise and answer for thy children's sake!

Thy Future calls thee with a manifold sound
To crescent honors, splendors, victories vast—
Waken, O slumbering Mother, and be crowned,
Who once wert empress of the sovereign Past!

—*Sarojini Naidu* (India's great woman poet).

VI.

The Indian Patriot's Creed

(This poem received a Gold Medal Prize offered for the best patriotic poem by The *Indian World.*)

I believe in India, one and indivisible.
I believe in India, beloved mother of each and all her many million children.
I believe in India's divine mission.
I believe in the saints of her birth and the heroes of her breeding.
I believe in India, the invincible, whom the world's loftiest and holiest mountains defend.
I believe in the invigorating power of the ocean, on whose lap lies my mother secure.
I believe in India, the beautiful—Nature's own paradise of loveliest flowers and streams.
I believe in the sanctity of her every particle.
I believe in India's departed sons, whose ashes are mingled in the air, earth, and water, that give me my food and form my very blood.
I am bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh.
I believe in the abiding relationship of Indians of all times and all communities.

I believe in the brotherhood of all who belong to India's soil, be they whatever caste or creed.
I believe in the living Indian nation, dearer to her children than aught else of earthly kinship.
I believe in its golden past and glorious future.
I believe in the righteousness, valor and patriotism of Indian manhood.
I believe in the tenderness, chastity and selflessness of Indian womanhood.
I believe in India for the Indian people to live for and to die for.
I believe in one land, one nation, one ideal and one cause.
The service of my country is the breath of my life—the be-all and end-all of my existence.
So help me Bharata!

—*D. S. Narain*, the Punjab.

Gandhi, the Great Friend

I am not sure but that the Quakers have chosen for themselves the very best name for a religious body that exists in the world—Friends.

If only one could be kept of all the names of admiration, appreciation, honor and affection which men and women in such numbers apply to Gandhi, which one would he prefer to have that one be? I think he would prefer Friend.

Of whom is Gandhi the friend?

I—Of India

It seems no exaggeration to call Gandhi the greatest and truest friend of India, because he is endeavoring to obtain for her the greatest boon any nation on earth can possess,—the boon of freedom; and what is best and most splendid of all, he is endeavoring to obtain it by peaceful means, by rational and moral means, and not by blood and slaughter.

II—Of England

Gandhi has always been England's friend. This should not be forgotten. He rendered England conspicuous service in South Africa. He rendered her great and important service during the European War. Is there any other man on earth who is now trying to render her so vast and vital a service as he, in endeavoring to prevent her from committing the unspeakable crime of deluging all India in blood to prevent the Indian people from obtaining the freedom that justly belongs to them?

III—Of Europe, Asia and the World

If Gandhi is the friend of India and England, he is no less the friend of Europe, Asia and the whole world, than whom none greater or truer is living or is likely to arise. He is the friend of Europe and Asia because he is showing to those two great continents how they may free themselves from that antagonism which many centuries of greed and conquest and cruel exploitation on the part of Europe has created, and which at no distant day must burst into a flame to devastate both continents, unless prevented by the rise of such a spirit of justice and human brotherhood as Gandhi is preaching with such power in India. And he is the friend of the whole world because he is showing to the whole world the way to avoid that greatest peril that threatens the future of mankind—the array of the white race, on the one hand, and the colored races, on the other, in permanent social, economic and political hostility the one to the other. Such hostility can lead nowhere but to death. Gandhi is pointing out, as did Buddha and Jesus in the ancient days, the way of life.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Gandhi's Favorite "Vaishnav Jan"

[An English rendering of Gandhi's favorite hymn, as received by Mr. Holmes from a correspondent in India]

"Oh God, we are all weaklings. Do not put us to too hard a test.
We have plunged into this war in Thy name. Thou art our last resort, whether Thou destroyest or savest us.
Let our faith in Thee be constant, Father Lord.
We have been tried too much. The limit has come. It is unbearable.
Test us no more. Lend us Thy hand, for we are weak.
Give us the strength always to utter Thy name even when our spirit shall be leaving the body."

The Same Light Leads

"Westward the course of empire takes its way"
With gun and dreadnaught holding brutal sway,
Coercing all to knuckle and obey
Old men whose only thought, "Heh, will it pay?"

But once again the East sends Wise Men out,
The East now bled by Western trick and clout,
Wise men and good who nobly dare to flout
The cold empire. All hail with joyous shout!

Delivering from all the ills there are,
They know that might sets barriers, love no bar.
The self-same thought: Good-will to near and far . . .
While over Gandhi's head the very Star!

RALPH CHEYNEY

Gandhi

Gandhi—a symbol of a people risen
In dauntless nationhood and splendid light
To gain their share of self-determination
And their full claim of man's inherent right.

Gandhi—a humble man of God who teaches
Love to the comrades on his fearless road.
Love to the treacherous enemies who burden
His fellow creatures with imperial load.

Gandhi—a friend of every beaten people,
Whose love no years defeat, no boundaries sever,
Gandhi—a name to spur our faltering courage,
That shall resound across the world forever!

LUCIA TRENT

The Study Table

Recent Literature on Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi is one of the few supreme men not only of his own country but of the world. Literature in description and appreciation of his life is becoming abundant in India, but in this country it is scant. I can recall Romain Rolland's "Mahatma Gandhi." This is described by Mr. J. F. Andrews as "a work of supreme genius," as it is from the literary and spiritual point of view; but its material is meager, and it tells the story only as far as Gandhi's arrest in 1922. Then there is "Gandhi the Apostle," written by Haridas T. Muzumdar, a young and ardent disciple, which contains valuable material but is hardly more than a hurried collection of brief sketches and fragments of biography. To these may be added two volumes of Gandhi's own writings, entitled "Young India" because comprised exclusively of editorials and articles written for his own paper of that title. Scattered pamphlets, addresses, sermons and magazine articles also exist. But this is meager material, especially in times like these, and it is not surprising that inquiries for more abundant information are frequent.

I

It is fortunate that at just this moment there should be available a new book on Gandhi, written by the one man most competent to interpret the great Indian to our western world. This book is "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas,"[1] by Mr. C. F. Andrews, an Englishman resident in India for more than thirty years, and Gandhi's closest friend outside a narrow circle of his own countrymen. As a publication, it is original, fascinatingly interesting, and highly useful and important from at least three different points of view.

In the first place, this volume is an attempt, and a most successful attempt, to explain Gandhi from the standpoint of "the main principles and ideas for which (he) has stood in the course of his eventful career." The book thus immediately takes its place as an indispensable introduction to all information upon and understanding of the life of the Mahatma, for in the case of a man of such unique and exalted quality as the great Indian leader, no comprehension of his acts is possible until they are seen in the light of the inward convictions of mind and heart which have been the guiding stars of all his days. If any man alive today is a universal man, it is Gandhi; yet no man is more native to his country, his tradition, and his race. If Gandhi is to be known, and appreciated and accepted, it must be first of all as an Indian. This is Mr. Andrews's approach to his problem. Thirty years' intimate association with the Mahatma, more than once in the great crises of his life, has given Mr. Andrews a profound insight into Gandhi's soul; and his own personal knowledge of England and the West equips him perfectly for the task of disclosing this insight to his American and English readers.

At the beginning Mr. Andrews makes plain what is so evident to all who have ever approached Gandhi from however great a distance, that the secret of his life lies in his religion. The Mahatma is a Hindu of the Hindus. He loves the scriptures and practices the prayers of his people. His days are all a conscious and deliberate dedication to the God of his fathers. He understands the spiritual genius of the Indians, and the expression of this genius in ideas and institutions curious, even incredible, to our western minds. Thus, he accepts the Indian caste system, and finds it not inconsistent with universal brotherhood; he sanctions cow-protection, and makes it a part of his own life; he is not averse to idol-worship; and he opposes western culture, industry, machinery, medicine as the works of the very devil. To the ignorant or superficial observer these ideas seem to be mere superstitions—they have an air of something provincial, fanatical, even monstrous about them. But one has only to read Andrews to understand not only how natural but also how right these ideas are to a devout Hindu of modern India. Hinduism, in other words, belongs to Gandhi, as the Judaism of the first century belonged to Jesus and the medievalism of the thirteen century to St. Francis. To our own surprise, perhaps, we discover that Gandhi knows the soul of man and the life of God as expressed in India better than we do!

But if Gandhi is a Hindu, he is not merely a Hindu. He is not interested in locking himself within the narrow confines of his own faith, and shutting out all other men as heretics and infidels. On the contrary, he opens every door, and seeks contact with all other religions, that in them he may find the one religion of mankind. Thus, he recognizes within his own life "the place of Jesus," and hails the beauty of the true Christianity of the Sermon on the Mount. He detests and denounces the bitter hostility between Hindu and Moslem in his own land, and seeks as one of the main purposes of his life the reconciliation of these two faiths. To no religion is he inhospitable. He sees the central place of the divine spirit in all true living, and would accept *on their own terms* all men who feel and follow this spirit as brethren akin to him. More than patriot, statesman, sage, seer, Gandhi is preeminently and predominantly one of the few supreme embodiments, not only in our time but in all time, of the one, all-inclusive and eternal religion of the spirit.

From out the well-springs of this religion as incarnate in the soul of Gandhi flow the streams of living water that are feeding today the amazing new life of India, and stirring the withered roots of the spirit in lands far-flung across the world. From his religion, in other words, come Gandhi's ideas. First of all, of course, *Ahimsa*—on the negative side, non-violence, and on the positive side, love of all men, enemy and friend alike. Here live again the mystic wonder of Lao-tse, the serene wisdom of the Buddha, the heroic daring of Jesus, the lovely sanctity of Francis, the stern rigor of Tolstoy—all born anew, as it were, in the ineffable beauty and exalted courage of the Mahatma. Gandhi proves afresh that the deepest insight, the loftiest ideal, the final and perfect indication of true religion is the gospel of non-resistance. If religion falls short of this ultimate standard, it is to that extent at least not religion. For the very essence of religion is the interpretation of life in terms of the spirit—what Emerson called the "Over-Soul." And if we believe in the reality of this "Soul," then we must

1. "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas," by C. F. Andrews. Published by the Macmillan Company. $3.

believe that the only force of power and good in all the cosmos is what Gandhi calls "soul-force." If we believe in the spirit, we must live in the spirit. That is all!

Along with *Ahimsa,* Mr. Andrews presents and interprets the other ideas central in Gandhi's life—*Swadeshi, Khaddar,* and the rest. This ardent friend of the Mahatma has no difficulty in illuminating these ideas and commending them to our acceptance. These chapters are a marvelous example of sympathetic exposition. Not that the disciple accepts all of the master's ideas as his own! Not at all! More than once Mr. Andrews has opposed Gandhi, as in the famous instance of the burning of English cotton-cloth. But even when he disagrees, he understands. Mr. Andrews is himself a lovely spirit. He is akin to Gandhi by virtue not of imitation but of the purity and sanctity of his own Christian life. So he is the most perfect of interpreters, as he is the most loyal of friends.

A second distinctive quality, or merit, of this book is to be found in the fact that, while Mr. Andrews is concerned with Gandhi's ideas, he does not neglect Gandhi's career. He sees the importance of placing the ideas in what he calls "the historical setting." This leads to a series of chapters, comprising the second part of the volume, which present in vivid form the central events in Gandhi's dramatic and heroic life. Here is the story of the Tolstoy Farm organized in South Africa in connection with the great *Satyagraha* campaign in that region. Here is the record of the great trial, which has taken its place in history along with the trials of Socrates, Jesus, and Joan of Arc. Unforgettable is the chapter on "the fast at Delhi," for Mr. Andrews himself sat with the Mahatma during those twenty-one days, and watched every step of his journey down into the shadows in voluntary penance for the sins of his people. Full of illumination and beauty is the chapter entitled, "A Morning with Gandhi." Here is the very man himself, in frank and fervent converse on ideas that have moved the world. All this portion of the book constitutes a marvelous picture of the Mahatma. Who can doubt his greatness after reading such testimony as this?

The third notable feature of the book lies in the fact that a large part of it is composed of Gandhi's own words. In every chapter Mr. Andrews has included lengthy excerpts from the Mahatma's writings. Not satisfied with his own interpretation, this faithful friend has taken pains to let his master speak for himself. When one remembers the vast bulk of Gandhi's published works—for this active leader of his people is incidentally among the most voluminous of writers!—one is tempted to marvel at the labor and patience expended by Mr. Andrews in extracting these elaborate and various passages for quotation in his book. And the skill, too! For the first time I am impressed with the fact—perhaps obscured hitherto by the sheer mass of Gandhi's work, much of it hurriedly written on passing topics of the day—that the Mahatma can write with extraordinary sense of power and beauty. Always his words have an engaging simplicity, an unfailing clarity; but not infrequently, especially on great occasions, they rise to the level of true eloquence. Among the passages included in Mr. Andrews' pages are not a few documents of great historical importance. The 1909 Confession of Faith, the letter "To Every Englishman" and its successors, the speech at the trial—these, along with the two letters written this very year to Viceroy Irwin, too late to be included in these pages, are destined to be remembered. Such documents, together with the other passages included, make Mr. Andrews' volume a compendium of first-class importance. For the present at least, from all points of view, it is the most valuable book we have.

II.

Exceedingly useful, because brief in compass, readable in style, and right up to date, is Kirby Page's 64-page pamphlet[2] just published as No. 18 in the well-known "World Problems Series." This booklet is the first fruits of Mr. Page's recently completed trip around the world, on which he had the good fortune to be in India during the sessions of the Lahore Congress. Long a sympathetic student of Gandhi's life and teachings, Mr. Page met Gandhi at the Congress, and later spent "three memorable days" with him at the *Ashram* —"days," he says, "which I will always count among the rarest privileges of my life."

The opening chapter is an account of Gandhi's life and an interpretation of his ideas. The author maintains a conscientiously detached viewpoint. He insists that "the great soul of India has many faults, is not always consistent, has committed grave blunders"—facts the truth of which the Mahatma himself, with characteristic humility, would be the first to concede. But it is Mr. Page's irresistible conclusion that "more than any other man of the age the Spinner of Sabarmati reminds me of the Carpenter of Nazareth."

A second exceedingly cogent and well-authenticated chapter on "India's Case Against Great Britain" leads to a searching discussion in a third chapter of the obstacles which lie in "India's Road to Freedom." These obstacles, as Mr. Page sees them, are "abysmal poverty, innumerable divisions, widespread ignorance, low physical vitality, the crushing weight of social custom and the paralyzing effects of religious beliefs and institutions." Mr. Page does not seem to see, or at least to state adequately, how many of these obstacles are heightened, if not actually created, by British rule. But he is right in emphasizing that the problem of Indian independence is not easy, and that wisdom must be found to sustain it as well as courage to win it.

A last chapter announces the opening of the present campaign and prints in full Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy of March 2nd last.

Kirby Page has done an excellent and most timely piece of work in writing and publishing this pamphlet. Apart from its own inherent merits, its chief value, perhaps, is in bringing the Gandhi epic up to date.

III.

A third book on Gandhi is included in this review, in spite of its being available at this moment only in an Indian edition, first because it is written by an American, and secondly in anticipation of its early publication in our own country. This book is a work[3] on Gandhi's fundamental non-resistant doctrine, written by a man[4] who has lived for several years in India, has resided at the *Ashram,* knows the Mahatma well,

2. "Is Mahatma Gandhi the Greatest Man of the Age?" by Kirby Page. Published by Kirby Page, 347 Madison Avenue, New York. 15 cents; ten copies, $1.

3. "Gandhiji's *Satyagraha,* or Non-Violent Resistance," by Richard B. Gregg. Published by S. Ganesan, Madras, India.

4. See Mr. Gregg's article in this issue of UNITY.

and has demonstrated his understanding of India's problems and his mastery of Gandhi's philosophy by his remarkable treatise on the "Economics of *Khaddar.*"

The first thing to be said about this book is that, unlike Mr. Gregg's earlier work on *Khaddar,* its interest and importance are by no means limited to India. The "Economics of *Khaddar*" is a discussion of a problem peculiarly Indian in character, and is thus of concern only to Indians themselves, or to others who chanced to be particularly interested for any reason in a distinctive problem of a foreign land. But this *Satyagraha* volume has a universal significance. It presents the age-old and world-wide religious ideal of non-resistance, and presents it in terms not only of Gandhi's teaching but also of the scholarship, experience and spiritual idealism of our western world. Mr. Gregg sees clearly that what Gandhi rightly calls "non-violent resistance" (a much better phrase, by the way, than our more familiar "non-resistance") is a possession not of Gandhi merely, nor yet of Hindus and Indians, but of all mankind. It is a part, and in some ways the noblest part, of the universal tradition of the race. He therefore takes pains to explain it "in its application in any country, at any time, and under any circumstances." I suspect that Mr. Gregg's title for his book is intended only for Indian readers and that when it is published in this country it will bear some other name.

The second thing to be said about this book is that it is the most comprehensive, thoroughgoing, all-inclusive study of non-resistance that I chance to know. I doubt if anything to compare with it in this regard anywhere exists. I have studied carefully, for example, the literature which the author has consulted, and which he lists carefully in his footnotes. I can think of no book upon the subject which he does not know and use so far as it has value. But Mr. Gregg's mastery of literature extends far beyond the range of what may be called the more technical works on this specific theme of non-resistance. He is familiar with general history; he has conned the writings of various authorities on militarism, war tactics, air power, etc.; and in the more strictly limited field of literature as art and culture, glorified by such names as Havelock Ellis, Bertrand Russell, Professor A. N. Whitehead, William James, Nietszche, and the sacred Scriptures of the race, he moves with ease and authority. In its mastery of sources, this book has the appearance and air of a life-study. Yet Mr. Gregg is a young man!

But the comprehensiveness of this work lies not merely in the range of its sources. It involves as well the range of observation, insight and knowledge which are brought to bear upon the author's thesis. Mr. Gregg believes that non-resistance is not only beautiful, but practicable; he is convinced that it is rooted not only in the dreams of prophets but in the nature and experience of man. He accepts these conclusions, however, on no mere faith. On the contrary, he would test his faith "with the recent findings of psychology, physiology, biology, military strategy, economics, political theory, penology and education." And this he proceeds to do in the pages of his book! It becomes therefore a survey of all knowledge upon his theme. Simply, clearly, persuasively presented, the argument stirs one's admiration at once for its thoroughness and for its ingenuity. Not a reader but will find in these chapters of rigorous, straightforward argument a hundred things which he never saw or even thought of before.

The encyclopaedic character of Mr. Gregg's work makes it a piece of solid reading. It is emphatically a book for study and deep thought rather than for light and easy scrutiny. But it stands a monument to industry, original thinking, and fine idealism. I await its appearance in an American edition for a more detailed review. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

An Indian Speaks for India

Any book about India is important at the present time by reason of the movement for independence there. One fifth of the world's population is in India, nearly one hundred and fifty times the population of the American colonies when they began their struggle for independence. Moreover the world situation is so different now that India's independence will affect international relations and the whole world life immediately while the success of the American colonies gave no evidence of affecting world status till long after its accomplishment. World imperialism stands or falls by what happens in India in the next few years.

England has had the first word, and she sees to it that every word favorable to her presentation of the case has the widest circulation. There can be no reasonable doubt that both the writing of Katherine Mayo's book, "Mother India," and the world-wide advertising which it has received, are alike due to the fact that it is British propaganda of the most obvious kind. To get a reading for the answers which India's children make to this outrageous misrepresentation of their mother-country is a far greater problem than is the answering of her vicious and vulnerable volume.

For this reason, as well as for the merit of the book* itself, every one who realizes the seriousness of the present situation of India and the struggle which is developing there, ought to read and persuade others to "My Mother India." The book is easy to read. The author's style is clear, incisive, and otherwise readable. The treatment is brief, and yet comprehensive. The approach to the subject is quick and direct. The argument is open and honest. The conclusions are stated without apology or evasion of any kind. It is not a dry-as-dust essay, it is a very human document. And the virility of the author, which speaks through every page of the book, tells more about the right of Indians to govern themselves, and their fitness to determine and direct their own fortunes among the peoples of the world, than any particular thing the writer says. And the book is by no means lacking in particulars.

The book is controversial, of course. Under such attack as Katherine Mayo made on India, and as English apologists are enlarging upon today, no self-respecting Indian can do other than answer the falsehood set forth to defeat India's aspiration toward self-determination. But the writer does not indulge in personalities. He is speaking *for* India rather than *against* anyone, or any nation. But in speaking for India he is compelled to tell some unpleasant truth about the rest of the world, and especially such sections

*"My Mother India," by Dalip Singh Saund, Ph. D. Published by the Wetzel Press, Los Angeles, California. $2.50.

of the Western World as count themselves divinely ordained to dictate the life of all the rest of mankind.

So Dr. Saund says some plain things in his very first chapter, Woman's Position in India; Is She Bond or Free? Likewise in the second chapter, The Hindu Ideal of Marriage, he shows some of the shadows that fall upon our ideal from the sort of practice which prevails here. The Caste System of India is discussed with equal frankness as are social snobberies and class-distinctions in America. It is the sort of medicine we need, and is not ungraciously given.

The major part of the book is concerned with an affirmative exhibit of India rather than with criticism of other people, even in self-defense. There is an excellent chapter on Gandhi—the Man and His Message. The following chapter, India's Experiment with Passive Resistance, is likewise finely informing. Why Is India Poor? and Indian Nationalism—Its Origin and Growth, close the volume very effectively. The chapter on The Civilization and Ethics of India is strikingly offset by the account of the Jallianwalla Massacre at Amritsar. The mingling of light and shadow throughout the narrative makes the whole a very effective piece of work. It is an Indian speaking for India, and therefore is not without feeling, and bears here and there the marks of special pleading. But it is the sharp, short, vigorous sort of plea for India by a son of India which every son and daughter of America ought to read just now.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

Notes

Gandhi's autobiography, which was published in full in these columns, is announced for publication in book form by the Macmillan Company. The volume is edited by Mr. C. F. Andrews, and contains an extended introduction by Mr. Holmes. It is expected to appear in the late summer or early fall.

A French edition of Dr. Sunderland's book, "India in Bondage," is soon to be published in Paris.

Important papers on the Indian situation are being published weekly in New York under the title of the *India Independence Bulletin.* Apply to the Editor, Mr. J. Vijaya-Tunga, 10 East 15th Street.

Correspondence

Are the British "Burying Gandhi Alive"?

Editor of UNITY:

Authentic reports from highly responsible persons have come from India that the treatment of Mahatma Gandhi by the prison authorities is one which under the law is meted out only to hardened criminals and under heavy safeguards.

On the occasion of his arrest on May 4, under an ancient regulation, it was stated that he would be treated as a State prisoner, held without trial during "the pleasure of the Government." It was further given out more than once thereafter that very considerate accommodation had been furnished him and that good care would be taken of him in every way.

Two months have since passed and reliable reports are now available about the manner in which the Mahatma is being handled at the Yeravda Prison. These reports show unmistakably that the Government of India, contrary to all its false assertions and in harmony with its atrocious treatment of *Satyagrahis* (non-resident volunteers) who follow the Mahatma, is according to the Sage of Sabarmati treatment reserved only for incorrigible felons. Here are some of the facts of the case:

Among the several forms of punishment provided under the Indian Penal Code, one is Solitary Confinement. The Bombay Jail Manual defines it as "such confinement as entirely secludes the prisoner both from sight of and communication with other prisoners." Another rule of the same Code requires that "no prisoner shall be placed in solitary confinement until he has been examined by the medical officer and certified to be fit to undergo the punishment." Such punishment, furthermore, is intermittent and inflicted only as a part of the sentence.

Despite official statements to the contrary, eye-witnesses of the most unimpeachable character, Indian and English, solemnly affirm that Mahatma Gandhi is being made to suffer the kind of imprisonment described above namely Solitary Confinement, a form of punishment which is admitted by the officials of the prison as the most nerve-racking which it is in their power to award.

Mahatma Gandhi is completely isolated from all other prisoners, say these men and women who have visited him in the Yeravda Jail. He is given a court-yard, which is made his world. None but the officers of the jail are allowed to enter that court-yard, and Gandhi is not allowed to leave it. He is entirely cut off from any human contact within the prison walls. He has no associates, he is never taken out of his compartment, he never sees human faces and he has no occasion to talk with others. But for the routine visits of the jail-keepers and occasional visits of immediate relatives, he is held in complete isolation from the world.

After his conviction for sedition in 1922, Mahatma Gandhi was treated as an ordinary prisoner and was not denied the most elementary human contact which even prisoners are permitted. Imprisoning him without trial, the officials are required to frame special rules more favorable to the prisoner. This they have not done, in spite of repeated urgings from various sources. Gandhi himself does not complain even when deprived of "creature comforts," but his acquiescence in this inhumane and uncivil treatment cannot fail to tell upon his health and mind.

Lord Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay, who had imprisoned him in 1922, later declared to an Australian journalist that their plan was to "bury him (Gandhi) alive." Is it possible that Ramsay MacDonald's Indian agent, "Christian" Irwin, is secretly completing the task left unfinished by his predecessors? We ask: Are the British burying Gandhi alive?

T. H. K. REZMIE,
Founder, India Independence League,
15 Park Row, New York City.

A Denial From England

[Note: On June 2nd last, UNITY published an article by Dr. Taraknath Das, referring to public flogging in India. We have just received from a distinguished and highly trustworthy Englishman, a Laborite, a letter "not for publication," in which this charge of public flogging is denied. UNITY is asked to print the substance of this denial, as "received from reliable authority," in the form of a statement of our own. We think it best to quote the exact sentences of denial as contained in the letter, since this involves no violation of confidence and gives the statement exact.—Editor.]

". . . There is no foundation for the allegation of public flogging. The Secretary of State (for India) said on the 22nd of May last in answer to a question, 'I know of no case, save that of four juveniles at Sholapur.' These were four boys under 15 years of age who were sentenced to 10 to 15 strokes in lieu of imprisonment. The sentences were executed in the presence of the Court, but not publicly. I think you will agree that however much we may dislike the whipping of boys by order of the magistrate, it is something entirely different from the allegation referred to . . . "

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

A Christian Bishop and the Satyagrahis

[Being a correspondence between J. C. Kumarappa, of Ahmedabad, India, and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India.]

19th April, 1930

Most Rev. Dr. F. Westcott,
Lord Bishop of Calcutta and
Metropolitan of India,
Calcutta.

Dear Mr. Westcott,

Yesterday I posted to you a copy of my appeal to Christians and Missionary bodies. I am enclosing another for ready reference.

It seems a terrible reflection that a government responsible to a nation that supports the Christian Church as a national institution should perpetrate such atrocities and especially on non-Christians. This will do incalculable damage to the cause of the Christian Church in India, if the Church does not register its protest—and that right early—and urge the government to at least follow the lead in non-violence given by Gandhiji. Great service may be rendered even by getting resolutions passed by the various Christian organizations and forwarding copies of these to the government and to the press.

May I respectfully point out that with Christians non-violence cannot be treated as a matter of policy. It is one of the basic principles inculcated and practiced by Christ. If this be so then it is incumbent upon the Church, I submit, to undertake to propagate the principle of Non-Violence. Should not something constructive be done to organize a permanent movement having for its object the promotion of non-violent methods of settling disputes? I am addressing Bishop Fisher and others on this subject but as nothing can give this movement a greater impetus than a definite lead from you I trust this matter will receive your prayerful consideration and then I am persuaded you will see your way clear to undertake this responsibility.

Yours sincerely,
J. C. KUMARAPPA.

24th April, 1930.
Bishops House, Calcutta.

J. C. Kumarappa, Esq., M.A., B.Sc.,
Gujarat, Vidyapith, Ahmedabad.

My Dear Sir,

I received your letter of the 19th inst. and no doubt you write to me as one who has known Mahatma Gandhi for some years and who deeply appreciated the service he was rendering for the social uplift of the depressed classes and for racial unity in India. As a social reformer, he had wholehearted support, for in doing that he seemed to me to be truly following in the footsteps of Jesus Christ but now you ask me to support him when he has, unlike Jesus Christ, identified himself with the political aspirations of the Nationalists. You will remember the multitudes sought Jesus Christ to make him their King that he might lead them to assert their national independence and secure their freedom from Roman rule. This he absolutely refused to do regarding it as a temptation of the devil to be resisted.

You seem to assert that our Lord would have approved of Civil Disobedience and would have called upon governments, when any of their subjects deliberately violated the laws of the country, to go on and break others with impunity. It is hard to understand how you could imagine that this is God's way of ordering his world. When I look to nature, I find that what we call "natural law" is absolutely fixed and reliable. On that fixity of law depends our power of carrying on our daily work. Research students depend upon it for making further discoveries. I remember well Father Wagget saying to a great meeting in Albert Hall that, "if butter was sometimes as hard as iron and iron was sometimes as soft as butter at the same temperature, we could make neither a bridge nor a breakfast." Can we expect that Jesus Christ who came to reveal the character of God would so utterly repudiate this revelation of God given us in nature? We know he did not, for again and again he exhorted his disciples to obey the law. When the Pharisees wished to place him in a dilemma, they asked him whether it was lawful to give tribute to Caesar or not and he asked them to show him a current coin. They showed him one with Caesar's likeness upon it. His reply was, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's." You avail yourself of the safety which a stable government affords you and of all the services which it provides for your convenience, but think you are at liberty to violate its laws with impunity. So far from encouraging any civil disobedience or religious disobedience, our Lord exhorted his disciples to obey the Scribes and Pharisees. He said, "Whatsoever they bid, that do and observe". Perhaps I need hardly remind you what St. Paul, a chosen witness of Jesus Christ, wrote to the Romans.

"Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, withstandeth the ordinance of God; and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgment. For rulers are not a terror to the good work but to the evil".

Perhaps you recall our Lord's injunction to the individual which forbade him to retaliate for a wrong done to him. Our Lord bade him to win over the evil-doer by kindness and patience. He was not dealing at the time with the question of the maintenance of law and order in the state, which finds its parallel in the natural order of the physical universe. A great deal of the suffering in the world is due to the violation of what we call the "laws of nature". Much of such violation is done in ignorance but yet the penalty of that violation is exacted. In the present Civil Disobedience, there is no question of ignorance. It is deliberate and is intended to overthrow the Government. I do not wish to discuss either the question of Salt Tax or the Excise Policy of the Government. That is beside the point. What I protest against is that you should think the teaching or example of Jesus Christ gives any warrant for the practice of Civil Disobedience.

Yours faithfully,
Calcutta. Foss

2nd May, 1930.
Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad.

Most Rev. Dr. F. Westcott,
Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan for India, Calcutta.

Dear Dr. Westcott,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 24th April received yesterday. May I say how surprised I was to find you reading me a homily on Civil Disobedience. I never even mentioned the word civil disobedience in my letter to you. What I wanted was not that you should support Gandhiji in his political campaign but that you should urge Government to use non-violent methods. Surely any Christian on either side can do that even while vehemently condemning the other side. I did not for a moment imagine that that was too much to be expected of the head of the Anglican Church in India. At present the inhuman methods used by the government towards the Satyaghis is unworthy of an opponent like Gandhiji, and no gentleman can countenance it, let alone one who professes to follow Christ. I fail to understand how you could stand aside calmly watching without a word of protest while such brutalities and tortures were being used. This attitude of callousness tantamounts to a denial of our Lord more culpable than that of Peter's; and the only hope is that it may be followed by repentence and more ardent service as in the case of the rugged Apostle.

The next paragraph in my letter does not even refer to the present political situation but only to the application of the principle of non-violence in settling all manner of disputes. You have chosen to ignore this paragraph altogether. Perhaps you do not wish to follow Christ to the extent of non-violence. You will forgive me if I say that most of our missionaries and other leaders of the Christian Church seem to be Britishers first and Christians afterwards, if convenient. As during the World War practically every pulpit was turned into a recruiting sergeant's platform and every Church service ended with that morbidly narrow nationalistic song, "God Save the King," which embodies the "tribal god" idea of King David, now are Christ's teachings torn from the context and twisted passages are partially quoted to meet national needs. This is a grave charge which seems to apply even to you as I shall proceed to show presently. I do not know how far our leaders are consciously guilty. They are themselves products of a civilization based on violence and so are not able to fully appreciate and interpret Christ's clear teaching on this subject. May God forgive them for the mischief they are doing, perhaps with the best of intentions, in this land which holds even plant life sacred. As an individual, I should have hesitated to approach the throne of the Metropolitan for India, a Prince among the prelates of the Church in

this fashion, had it not been for the authority of the New Testament; and on this ground I would crave indulgence for anything that would have otherwise appeared presumptuous in this letter. Since you have yourself raised the question of civil disobedience I have no option left but to deal with your arguments.

Emanating from such an exalted source, the misapplication of scripture incidents and partial quotations contained in your letter in support of your own ideas came as a great shock to me. You refer to the multitude seeking to make Jesus King and you add "that He might lead them to assert their national independence and secure their freedom from Roman rule. This he absolutely refused to do regarding it as a temptation of the devil to be resisted." May I refer you to the actual context and passage, John VI, 14 and 15, which follows on the description of the miracle of feeding of the five thousand men. "Then those men, when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did, said. This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world. When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a King, he departed again into a mountain, himself alone."

The prophet they were expecting was the Messiah and the common conception was that he would be a temporal King and the context suggests clearly that these men were impelled by purely selfish motives—feeding the body. These people wholly misunderstood his mission and his kingdom which was not to be of this world, and hence he departed. There is no mention or even room to infer all you say about national independence and freedom from Roman rule and much less anything about Jesus regarding it as a temptation to be resisted. There is no idea of a temptation here at all.

Then later on you proceed to say "Our Lord exhorted his disciples to obey the Scribes and Pharisees." He said "Whatsoever they bid that do and observe." In other words you allocate to the bureaucracy in India the same place in the political order that the Scribes and Pharisees of old held in the Jewish organization. I am absolutely one with you in this, but I resent your partial quotation calculated to misinterpret Jesus. You omit the first part of his injunction and fail even to refer to the later part of the chapter. Matt. XXIII, Verse 2 says, "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses seat" and then comes the third verse, "All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." That is in so far as the Scribes and Pharisees are the custodians of Mosaic Law, which to the Jew was God-made law, or we may term a higher moral law, he wants them to obey this. But he never enjoins them to blind obedience. You will find right through the rest of the chapter one of the strongest condemnations of the Scribes and Pharisees usurping the place rightfully due to the Mosaic or God-given law and prostituting it to suit their own selfish ends. Most of the verses in this chapter begin with such biting words as "Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." "Woe unto you, ye blind guides." "Ye fools and blind," and ends up with "Ye serpents, Ye generation of vipers. —how can ye escape the damnation of hell." (and I say "*amen* to the bureaucrats of India"). He has again and again exhorted them to "Beware of the Scribes and Pharisees." He never advocated blind obedience such as you imply. He enjoined them to follow the God-given law. In Matt. V. repeatedly you have verses beginning with "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time . . . But I say unto you, etc.," and in verse 20 "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees ye shall in no case enter the Kingdom of Heaven." Surely if they were to follow meekly the Scribes and Pharisees, they could not excel them. He inculcated the pursuit of a higher moral law and said "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." This is enough as far as his precept goes but let us see what his practice was. Did he himself obey the Scribes and Pharisees in all things even where laws were immoral and anti-social? I need only refer you to the first few verses of Mark III, where you will find a record of his civil disobedience against the law of the Sabbath when he considered its operation anti-social. After spiritedly condemning it and the Scribes and Pharisees he defiantly broke it by healing the man with a withered hand. His action so enraged the then custodians of "law and order" that the Pharisees "straightway took counsel with Herodians against him, how they might destroy him." Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath. Wherever the man made law has proved to be immoral, as in the case of the Salt Tax, and anti-social, as in the case of the Excise Policy, the righting process will lead to a disturbance of the peace. "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth. I came not to send peace but a sword". This is a solemn statement from the Prince of Peace.

You appear to have terribly confused ideas of "law of nature" and man-made laws and attribute the same potency and virtue to both alike. "Law" in science is but the observed uniform order of sequence—and hence the "fixity" you talk about—until a variation from this uniformity is noticed then even this "fixity" has to be modified. Therefore, even in natural law there is nothing that is "absolutely reliable" as you so innocently imagine. Man-made laws are only rules laid down for the regulation of society and as no man is infallible—I am not sure what you think of the Pope—some of these regulations may be totally immoral or anti-social. Then what is our duty toward these? The example of Christ urges us to rise to that which is our highest light irrespective of consequences.

You accuse the people of taking advantage of the services of the Government. Are these services offered gratis? The way you speak of it one would imagine you were under that impression. Do you not realize even at this late hour that the very blood is squeezed out of the Indian peasant by way of taxes. Even if I grant, for argument sake, that the service we get is desirable is there no idea of adequacy of payment? I am sure you will be the last one to justify the late war on the score that it called forth some heroism occasionally. Surely the price was too heavy to pay. This is one of the bases of contention of the Satyagrahis. According to you it would seem that the government exists that the people might obey it—man is made for the Sabbath theory. A most pernicious way to look at the relationship. Instead of the government bending to the will of the people the bureaucracy says "we will crush them down to accept our mandates." The Indian citizen—indeed if he can be called a citizen and not a slave—is made for maintaining a government and finally the British trade. . . .

To summarize the present movement in India, the Satyagrahis feel the anti-social nature of the whole system, Salt Tax, liquor sales, etc. Realizing that at present man is made to be taxed they are breaking such laws as are immoral (which question you conveniently refuse to discuss) not fearing them that can destroy the body by torture, machine guns and other accessories of "civilization" and the Pharisees—the bureaucrats—are taking counsel with Herodians—Whitehall—as to how they may destroy the greatest apostle of Christ in India—not the kind that says "Lord, Lord" but one that doeth the will of the Father, the same that Jesus owns to be His brother, sister and mother. You may ask how could I accuse government of seeking to destroy him while he has been left unmolested. I have not seen Gandhiji since the campaign started, but I know the brutalities perpetrated on one of the least of the people will be an immeasurably greater torture to him than any that his 100 pounds of human flesh can be submitted to. The Satyagrahis follow Christ even to the court of the present day. Pilates who rather than do justice and resign, stick to their posts and carry out the wishes of the powers that be. The Satyagrahis take no part in the proceedings even as Christ refrained. "Then said Pilate unto him 'hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee?' and he answered him never a word: in so much that the governor marvelled greatly."

Western civilization brings formalities even between Christians. Formerly I addressed you "Dear Dr. Westcott" and signed myself "Yours sincerely" but you begin "My dear sir" and end "Yours faithfully" but you will allow me to follow Matt. XXIII, 8 and address you "Brother" and sign myself,

Yours fraternally,
J. C. KUMARAPPA.

Tagore Coming to America

It is gratifying to know that Rabindranath Tagore is expected to come to America in the fall, probably in October, for a somewhat extended visit. He has been for some months in England and France. In May he delivered the famous "Hibbert Lectures" in Oxford

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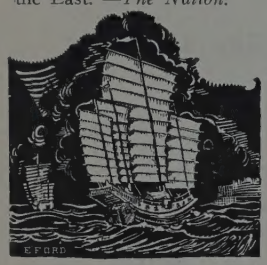

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My Mother India

BY DALIP SINGH SAUND

Here are some press comments on this great book—great internationally.

A number of writers, both European and Asian, sprang to the defense of India. "My Mother India" is a noteworthy example of the best of these books.—*Ohio State Journal.*

Of all the books on the subject known to us, this is unquestionably the one we can most highly recommend to the casual reader, who is not a student of the subject but who nevertheless is anxious to be clearly posted.—*Weekly People, New York.*

What is going on in India concerns every American, and the effort to understand the manner of the modern social evolution there is about as well worth while as anything to which thoughtful men and women can address themselves today. This book is a real contribution toward such understanding. —*Hollywood Citizen.*

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and London. He has been much with the Quakers, the Friends, with whom he feels that he has much in common, and who have rendered him considerable assistance in carrying on his Boys' School and his International University in India. At the British Friends Yearly Meeting in London he delivered an address on "The Indian Situation." (reprinted in this issue of UNITY). It is reported that while in America he expects to spend considerable time in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cambridge, Washington and Chicago, besides visiting other cities if his health permits. The British Friends' Service Council say that in making his plans to go to America he has asked the American Friends Service Committee (Philadelphia) "to arrange his meetings, in order to introduce him to the warm heart of the West." J. T. S.